

## NDP Must Speak Out on Ottawa's Vietnam Role

By Ross Dowson

With a warning that any attempt to involve Canada in the war in Vietnam by giving military aid to the U.S. would split the country as it has not been split since the 1917 conscription crisis, NDP leader T. C. Douglas challenged the Pearson government to make a clear statement that Canada would not engage in military adventures in S.E. Asia.

Mr. Pearson solemnly responded that there is no possibility of Canadian military aid being sent to Vietnam.

Taken in by and hailing Washington's cessation of bombing of North Vietnam, the NDP leadership appealed to the Pearson government to use its good office to urge that the pause continue until the parties concerned are at the conference table.

External Affairs Minister Paul Martin assured the house that the government has urged the U.S. to continue the pause in bombing as long as possible.

What then is the difference between the NDP's position on the war in Vietnam and the position of the government? The Liberals, along with the Tories and Social Credit, both of the Thompson and Caouette varieties, support Washington's role in Vietnam all

down the line — with of course certain reservations, modest ones to be sure, as to "excesses" that might be pointed out from time to time.

The NDP leadership on the other hand have expressed opposition to Washington's role in Vietnam. The honorary president of the party was dignified with being quoted in the only article touching on the Vietnam war in the January issue of the Ontario New Democrat. Looking at Vietnam, he said: "I see the greatest democratic and Christian country in the world (the United States) committing atrocities in some ways as terrible as those of the German generals during the last war." But as one who can sympathize with the slave in revolt and at the same time the slave owner about to be deprived of his slave, he also attacked the "promoters of communism who are trying," he said, "to stop the march of progress with guns." To make sure that there was no doubt that he was referring to the long-suffering, heroic fighters of the National Liberation Front, he said "I see atrocities on both sides."

But fortunately the rest of the leadership has not expressed the shameful views of Mr. Coldwell. If it has been equivocal with regards to identification with the popular revolution in Vietnam it has clearly condemned the U.S. Back last spring Douglas gave a speech in the commons, now well buried in Hansard, the chief merit of which was its condemnation of U.S. aggression there as threatening to "escalate into a world holocaust which would devastate the greater part of the earth," and its characterization of the war on the part of the U.S. as an attempt to crush a legitimate effort of the people in Vietnam to rule themselves unhampered by the economic domination of the big powers.

NDP M.P. Andrew Brewin touched on this in his contribution to the debate on the speech from the throne when he said that Washington's claims that it is in Vietnam to protect South Vietnam sovereignty and to contain communist aggression in S.E. Asia are unacceptable. He

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# Mobilize Opposition Against Complicity in Vietnam War

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characterized the war as essentially a civil war in which the U.S. should not be involved.

Since both Douglas and Brewin have shown some awareness of the thoroughly counter-revolutionary role of the U.S. in Vietnam why is it that they have not translated these views into any meaningful ideas that would not

only demark them from the Liberal-Tory-Socred support of Washington but would serve as rallying points for the Canadian people so that they could effectively intervene side by side with the growing anti-Vietnam war forces within the United States?

For one thing the NDP brain go along with the idea that as long as Canada does not send armed forces it is not actually implicated in the war in Vietnam on the side of the American juggernaut. They have remained silent not only about the treacherous role that Canada played through its membership in the International Control Commission, feeding lies into Washington's propaganda mill, but its very real and substantial contribution to the military force that Washington is using with such murderous effect against the peoples of Vietnam.

How can the NDP federal council so naively appeal to the Pearson government to "make it clear that under no circumstances will Canada participate in or assist military activities in Vietnam" when right now it is up to its elbows in the gore and slaughter there.

The rank hypocrisy of the government's pretense of neutrality, and the patent falsity of the NDP leadership's position was revealed this month when the external affairs department affirmed its pretended policy of neutrality by forbidding a permit for a modest shipment of airplane parts and munitions to Vietnam.

The joker is that the parts for which the government refused permits were for Canadian manufactured guns and aircraft that are already there right now—the DeHavilland Caribou cargo-plane and now its successor the Buffalo—the principal transport aircraft being used by the U.S. Army in Vietnam to supply small outposts.

The parts were held up because they were to be shipped direct. But the Canadian aircraft themselves got into Vietnam as part of the U.S. arsenal under the continental defence sharing agreements. These agreements, signed in 1958, as part of the North American Air Defence Agreement (NORAD), under which Canada became nuclear armed, according to Mr. Pearson do not give Canada any control of equipment shipped to the U.S.

With this ruse Mr. Pearson attempts to maintain the pretense of Canadian neutrality—a neutrality which certainly doesn't deceive the National Liberation Front.

The NDP leadership treats the government as if it had the possibilities of being a prod to the conscience of the United States State Department, when it is a willing and integral part of its imperialist strategy. If the NDP federal council were truly serious in its official statement on Vietnam that "Our government must also make it clear that under no circumstances will Canada participate in or assist military activities" it would publicly expose Canadian complicity. It would demand the scrapping of the defence sharing agreements and insist that an embargo be placed against the shipment or trans-shipment of any Canadian manufactured military goods into South East Asia.

It would honor and campaign behind the official position of the party as defined at the founding convention. The party, prior to the nuclear armament of the Bomarcas, warned of that danger, and on this and other counts committed itself to the position that "the NORAD agreements should therefore be terminated."

That is the responsibility of the M.P.'s. And the party ranks should demand that they campaign for Canadian withdrawal from the NORAD military pact.



# WORKERS Vanguard

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Toronto — 10 Cents

## Ontario Teamster Lockout Projects Battle Cry — No Contract, No Work!

By P. Kent

Feb. 1—Half the highway transport in Ontario, the 10,000 trucks that link Quebec to Sarnia and Toronto to Cochrane stand idle. The 55 firms organized in the Motor Transport Industrial Relations Bureau brought the situation to a head when they locked out of their jobs some 8,500 members

of the Teamsters' Union. In short order they pushed out into the street another 13,000 inside workers at 175 depots and are gradually paralyzing key sectors of Ontario industry. Within hours American Motors of Brampton laid off 1,250 workers because of shortage of parts.

The pretext for this vicious, this calculated assault on the

teamsters and their families by the profit-hungry transport bosses was the strike of January 20 against the small Consolidated Truck Lines operation. The trucking bosses arrogantly declared that this strike "means strike against all companies involved" in negotiations and closed all terminals.

The bosses took this drastic action in the belief that the situation is favorable to smash the union in the key Toronto area. This confidence does not spring from any misconception about the desire of the ranks to win the 40 hour work week, from which the federal government exempted the transport bosses, or any feeling that they are not in dead earnest in their demand for the dropping of the reprisals that the companies have imposed on the union for a wild-cat action early last fall. The bosses launched this bold action in order to take advantage of the fact that the ranks have no democratic rights through which they can really effectively mobilize their forces and fight. The efforts of the Toronto rank and file to toss out President Ken McDougall and his  
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## TEAMSTERS

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gang were at the last moment forestalled by Hoffa's imposition of a trusteeship over the local. Thus the creation of a rank and file leadership was blocked and a conservative labor bureaucrat with totalitarian authority imposed on the local.

While the Ontario wide strike vote was 72%, reflecting their lack of confidence in the leadership imposed on them, the Toronto teamsters voted only 56% for strike. The trustee has refused to call a membership meeting since the beginning of the lockout—and no wonder. Last local meeting saw him forced to reinstate two of the leading victims of McDougall's machinations. Although he agreed to the constitution of a strike committee he has imposed his powers of veto, and without an independent base in the membership the committee is a mockery.

Not only have the ranks been deprived of any real participation in the struggle with the bosses, they have been saddled with a treacherous strategy. Even though everyone has been tossed out into the street the official strategy is to maintain the myth of a strike in only three barns. All of the rest of the teamsters, independent of one another, are to continue to seek the permission of their respective bosses to go back to work. If this holds out the hope that those who the notoriously anti-labor National Employment Service decides to be locked out are eligible for benefits, at the same time it destroys the unity and the militancy of the ranks.

Despite the paralysis creeping over the province the Ontario government, which could lift and redistribute the PCV licenses from the companies for interfering with provincial and interprovincial traffic, has made no move to intervene. At an appropriate time, and under appropriate conditions for the bosses, it may well step in and save their face by ordering them to lift the lockout. Counting on the official strategy to hold, the bosses could anticipate this would bring the bulk of the teamsters back into the shops without a contract and possibly with no union.

But so far there have been no serious signs of weakening in the ranks. On the contrary, the idea being promoted by militants that the teamsters must remain united and that there must be no return to work without a contract is beginning to take hold. Armed with the battle cry made famous by the miners—No Contract, No Work—the Teamsters can win.



# Fidel Castro's Attack on the Fourth International

The first Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Conference held in Havana early this month, even from the sketchy reports so far available, must have inspired the world-wide forces locked in combat with imperialism, and in particular against Wall Street imperialism.

The declarations coming out of the conference and reports of its sessions testify to the profound feeling of solidarity across the world with the freedom fighters of Vietnam. The 5,000 word general declaration stressed the inalienable right of all peoples to take the road of "armed struggle," in the fight for national liberation and socialism.

But all the unity talk at times proved only to be a facade covering over deep and underlying conflicts. A long time will pass before the words pronounced by the Moscow delegation and its acolytes are translated into deeds. The longstanding conflict between Moscow and Peking, according to a Peking Review report, flared up at every turn.

Almost in the same breath as Cuba's Prime Minister Fidel Castro hailed the unity, in his closing speech to the congress he launched a vicious attack on "Trotskyism" the like of which has not been heard since the heyday of Stalinism. He did so in terms that since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have not been uttered without considerable embarrassment even in the most Stalinized of circles.

The fact that these scurrilous attacks were made by a figure of such revolutionary stature, a figure whose contribution to the Cuban and Latin American revolution has been so exemplary, makes it all the more unpalatable. And all the more so in that it is a well established fact that the Trotskyists, that the forces of the Fourth International across the world, stand in the very forefront of the defenders and popularizers of the Cuban cause.

The pretext for Castro's attack on Trotskyism and the Fourth International was what he called "the campaign carried out by Yankee imperialism and its agents in relation to the departure of our comrade Guevara."

Castro charged that certain elements whom he characterized as Trotskyists "started everywhere, simultaneously" a campaign around the matter of Guevara's withdrawal. The first evidence that Castro presented is a dispatch carried by U.P.I. from the big Mexican capitalist daily *El Universal*.

According to this dispatch, one Felipe Albaguante, elsewhere spelled Alvahuante, whom *El Uni-*

versal reports and Castro passed on, is a "leader of the Mexican Trotskyists," charged last December that Guevara was assassinated by Castro by order of the USSR because he was insisting that Cuba follow a Chinese line.

The Mexican section of the Fourth International immediately wired Castro that the so-called Alvahuante has never belonged to the Mexican section of the Fourth International. Pierre Frank, on behalf of the highest body of the world Trotskyist movement, has declared that the said person is completely unknown to it. At the same time Frank brought to Castro's attention that the press of the Fourth International handled the departure of Guevara in a totally different and responsible way.

Castro followed up this incredible attack on the Fourth International with a reference to comments by Adolpho Gilly, whom he characterizes as a "known theoretician of Trotskyism," appearing in the Montevideo weekly *Marcha* and the Italian *Nuovo Mondo*, neither of which are Trotskyist. Gilly is later referred to by Castro as a writer in the U.S.

magazine *Monthly Review*. As can be easily ascertained neither Gilly nor the magazine *Monthly Review* are Trotskyist.

What Castro hopes to gain by this utilization of Trotskyism as a simple smear is difficult to grasp. *Monthly Review* is an independent socialist journal of considerable influence in North and Latin America. Its editors, Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, upon whom the Cuban revolution has had exhilarating impact, are the authors of one of the most sympathetic, authoritative and widely read books on Cuba—*The Anatomy of a Revolution*. Several extensive articles by Gilly on Cuba and the Latin American guerrilla movements have been published by Huberman and Sweezy with their highest praise.

In another portion of his speech Castro again attacks Gilly for some material he wrote critical of Cuba's relation to the revolutionary struggles in the Dominican Republic. Here Castro, if only in a cursory way, attempts to meet Gilly's points but not until he has characterized his criticisms as "villany."

At considerable length Castro quotes from the press of a split-off from the Fourth International—a group with modest forces in several Latin American countries around one J. Posadas. The statements that Castro quotes are irresponsible and flow from positions that this group holds on Cuba and other matters which, when not idiotic, are ultra left

of the classic school. Needless to say they are at sharp variance with the official positions of the Fourth International. But to call them agents of imperialism is an impermissible slander.

Possibly the most important



section of Castro's speech is the one relating to the situation within the guerrilla forces in Guatemala and the legitimate differences of opinion within them as to the course to be followed by the revolutionary vanguard.

Gilly reports in detail on the Revolutionary Movement of Nov. 13 (MR-13) and its youthful commander, Marco Antonio Yon Sosa. Gilly notes that in the MR-13, for the first time in Latin America, we have a guerrilla movement in Guatemala that from the old concepts of anti-feudal, democratic revolution, has moved to a program of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist revolution. One of the prime forces behind this development, according to Sosa, was the inspiration and experience of the Cuban Revolution, which under the leadership of

Castro and Guevara advanced from the democratic revolution to a workers' state. It was this profound experience and lesson that the Cuban leadership themselves expressed in the Declarations of Havana.

Castro depicts Sosa as a well meaning dupe who permitted a "business man"—"an agent of Trotskyism"—"who we have no doubt is an agent of imperialism—to be in charge of editing a paper in which the program of the Fourth International is copied from head to stern."

Here Castro injects his most infamous slander of the Fourth International and Trotskyism—which reads like a paraphrase of Stalin's now hopelessly discredited attack on Trotskyism in *Mastering Bolshevism*. "Because if at one time Trotskyism represented an erroneous position, but a position within the field of political ideas," he said, "Trotskyism passed on to become in succeeding years a vulgar instrument of imperialism and of reaction."

What is the real significance, what lies behind Castro's attack on Trotskyism?

While from its crudity it has all the appearance of something done in an off-handed way as a favor for Stalinist elements, it is difficult to believe that Castro, who in the past has proven himself to be scrupulously honest and an astute and principled revolutionary leader, would lend himself for such purposes.

More likely it marks a political concession in the direction of the Kremlin. In so far as it marks a departure from the principled political course that Castro has sought to follow up until now, it would indicate that Cuba's position in relation to the Kremlin which it has become increasingly dependent upon, in face of the failure of any decisive breakthrough in the Latin American Revolution, has become greatly weakened.

As interesting and important as such speculation may be, it is yet too early to grasp the full significance of this turn in events. One thing is sure, however. One of the real strengths of the Cuban leadership and its appeal to the ranks of the new generation of revolutionaries developing in North America has been its integrity. This smear of Gilly and *Monthly Review* and the villification of the Trotskyists and the Fourth International is a sharp blow to this integrity. Only a complete retraction of these terrible slanders can begin to overcome the damage already done to the cause of the Cuban revolution.

By R. D.





## Ontario Unionists Defy Anti-Labor Injunctions

By P. Kent.

The Oshawa and Peterborough picket line battles against the crippling and smashing of unions through the use of court injunctions have shifted into the courts. 28 men, among them some of the top leaders of the trade union movement in Peterborough, will appear before the Toronto courts on March 7. They have been charged with contempt for their, and 400 other unionists and youthful supporters, defiance of a court injunction limiting picketing at a local plant to 12 persons.

The demonstration, which roused wide support across the country, had been limited by the Peterborough Labor Council's five-man injunction committee to local unionists only. The committee rejected the offer of Oshawa auto-workers to send in two bus loads. Its chairman advised the press that 35 had been assigned watchdog roles to keep other demonstrating unionists in line. As soon as the attorney-general laid formal charges the same committee, to the disappointment of many militants who considered it had no authority to do so, called off the demonstrations.

The Peterborough protest followed on the heels of the militant defiance of a court injunction two weeks earlier at Oshawa in front of the struck Oshawa Times.

There, when the sheriff read

an injunction to 1,000 supporters of the Toronto Newspaper Guild's Oshawa unit it was torn from his hands and ripped into pieces. He left to jeers and a barrage of snowballs.

Earlier the Oshawa labor council's president, noting that the whole labor movement has won respectability — warned "if we have to shed the cloak of respectability to win the fight for the Guild members, then we will have to do so." Ontario NDP leader Donald C. MacDonald not only put in an appearance on the picket line but spoke at a seminar sponsored by Local 222 UAW shortly after, where he said:

"Some of the most historic events in history are events that centered around people who defied the law because they became convinced that the law enshrined injustice. The United States of America was born in a revolution that defied the law because they were convinced that it represented injustice. The same can be said throughout the history of any free country."

Obviously Oshawa was the wrong place at the wrong time from the government's point of view.

Liberal leader Thompson challenged MacDonald with showing disregard of the law in joining the picket line. Attorney-General Wishart denounced those who

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## Hit Strikebreaking Injunctions

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take the law in their own hands with "seeking, whether he realizes it or not, to destroy the society under which he lives." But he took no action to uphold the injunction and the authority of the courts. The Ontario section of the Canadian Bar Association urged it be enforced; the daily press demanded that the law be upheld. But Mr. Wishart passed the ball onto the humiliated sheriff to take appropriate steps. No complaints to the effect that the local police were not upholding the law "were made to me," said Premier Roberts.

Labor Minister Rowntree scurried to bring about a settlement before the deadline imposed by a court order obtained by The Times seeking enforcement of the injunction. A settlement with Lord Thomson's paper resulted in a request for a withdrawal of the

motion which was granted by Chief Justice Gale—the same day as a meeting was scheduled for the Canadian directors of 40 unions to discuss labor's strategy in mounting a campaign against injunctions in labor-management disputes.

With Oshawa out of the way, on February 11, the Labor Minister indicated that the government would study the use of injunctions in labor disputes. But his first public move was the frontal attack on the Peterborough labor movement.

The injunction committee decided to hold a mass demonstration on February 23 at the Tilco Plastics plant which had been struck last December by the Textile Workers of America to establish a first contract and up wage rates of \$1.12 an hour closer to the federal minimum of \$1.25. A court injunction limited picket-

ing at the plant's four entrances to a total of 12 persons. The day before the demonstration Mr. Wishart warned that should the demonstration come off, proceedings would be initiated by the judge who granted the original injunction or by a crown prosecutor. The 350 men and women who rallied the first morning were met by a sheriff reading the court order out loud. The following day the 28 were charged to appear before the court for contempt.

Will the union strategy of finding redress in the courts work? Regardless of the oratorical and legalistic skills of the defence, the decisive factor will be that when the leadership at long-last decided to stand up against this union busting law the ranks demonstrated that they are prepared to fill the jails in defence of their unions.



#117 March 1966 Editorial

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EDITOR: ROSS DOWSON

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### Anything But What's Necessary

The Liberals and the Tories are prepared to do everything that the U.S. State Department asks in support of its dirty war against the Vietnam freedom struggle. Mr. Rusk has just affirmed that the Pearson government is doing everything that could be asked of it.

NDP leader T. C. Douglas, on the other hand, is prepared to do anything to force the U.S. to reconsider its Vietnam policies. That is what he said to a group of high school and university students at a mock federal-provincial conference in Kitchener—he said he would do "anything".

This prompted one of the students to suggest that Canada should withdraw from the military alliances that it now has with the U.S.—and another—that shipments of arms to the U.S. be banned.

Despite the apparent reasonableness of these propositions, unfortunately they do not fit into Mr. Douglas's category of "anything". He ridiculed the arms ban suggestion by comparing it to denying an elephant, with a granary full of peanuts, a single peanut a year.

"It would be in the nature of a protest but I am not sure it would have much value," he said. He dismissed the proposal that Canada should withdraw from NATO and NORAD, although it should be noted that the membership of the NDP in convention committed him to press for Canadian withdrawal from NORAD, and from NATO, too, if it becomes nuclear armed, as it now clearly is. Unfortunately Mr. Douglas's preparedness to do anything doesn't include preparedness to implement official party policy. He said that "creating a couple of problems in other parts of the world is not going to solve the problem in Vietnam."

Mr. Douglas could not be more wrong. The NATO alliance is already in grave difficulty. The Gaullist government of France has declared that all foreign military forces will have to be withdrawn from French soil by April, 1969. Among such forces are 2,200 Canadian airmen. To take advantage of this situation and win withdrawal of Canadian forces now, if it were to only mean their replacement by U.S. forces for a couple of years, would have a serious impact on the aggressive capacity of the U.S. forces in faraway Vietnam—for it would require replacement of highly trained jet fighter pilots and ancillary forces.

The political impact of Canadian withdrawal from NATO would be of even greater significance. It would deprive this naked military alliance of the fig-leaf provided by the Honourable Paul Martin as titular head of NATO, and make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for a British Labour government to continue in the alliance. Canadian withdrawal could be the straw that would break the back of NATO.

Is the extent of Canadian economic integration with the U.S., particularly with that vast and complex sector that serves in various ways the military juggernaut, so small as to be accurately likened to a peanut? We seriously doubt that. And what about the moral aspects of the question which Mr. Douglas is usually so strong on? If depriving the U.S. military machine of any and all materials of Canadian origin were to have no real material effect—what about the political impact?

Dissent within the U.S. itself against President Johnson's policies is fairly high and growing. According to the *New York Post*, in the last several weeks support for his policies across the nation has dropped sharply from 63 to 49%. An effective campaign by the NDP for Canadian withdrawal could snowball, could have an escalating impact on the thinking of the American people. To achieve Canadian withdrawal from NATO would inspire the oppositional forces within the U.S. to new heights of enthusiasm and action, and have a devastating impact on Washington's policies. That is why the NDP should press to overcome Mr. Douglas's reluctance to implement official party policy that Canada should withdraw from the U.S.-dominated military alliances of NATO and NORAD.



# WORKERS Vanguard

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## Teamsters Solid, 40-hr. Week Now

by P. KENT

The 8,500 Teamsters who have tied up Southern Ontario trucking went into their twelfth week of strike and made it unmistakably clear that they are prepared to stay out until they win major concessions from the trucking bosses.

"We want a 40 hour week and a 25 to 30 cent an hour pay increase NOW", said Toronto strike steering committee chairman Harry Paine to the press.

That is what the teamsters said thunderously and overwhelmingly

when they rejected the latest company offer on April 11 at mass meetings held in Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, London and Windsor. The vote went two to one against the offer — with only the Kingston local voting acceptance.

Not only was the vote against the company offer but it was a sharp repudiation of the leadership on three different levels, which had urged acceptance.

International President James Hoffa, in the person of Detroit business agent Roman McMaster, accompanied by other U.S. business agents, appeared before the Toronto teamsters meeting. When challenged from the floor "Are you here to help us, or help the companies," McMaster claimed that he urged neither acceptance or rejection of the proposals. He had earlier said that he had been sent in by Hoffa "to look into a situation which could get out of control," and he stressed that so far the strike had cost \$2 million.

As to be expected Toronto Local 938's official leadership urged acceptance. McDougall and his clique had been decisively repudiated by the ranks but were set back into office by Hoffa through the ruse of placing the local into trusteeship — under which it remains till this day. But former business agent Thibault and secretary Merrit, both of whom had played an opposition role to McDougall, failed to take a stand of forthright opposition to the offer. Ray Taggart, president of the Hamilton local and chairman of the joint bargaining committee, who had identified himself with Toronto militants in their struggle against

McDougall, surprisingly campaigned over TV and through the press for acceptance. Taggart was brought up short not only by the ranks across the province but by the members of his own local who voted his recommendation down 777 to 367.

It was the strike steering committee of local 938, which has no legal status in the union but is in actuality the sole democratically elected body in the local, that carried the struggle against acceptance in the key Toronto local and into Hamilton.

Over the signature of several of its members the steering committee made known its opposition to the company offer. It urged rejection on the basis that the 40 hour work week would not go into effect for another 2½ years. It ridiculed the wage offer as hardly more than making up the loss in wages due to the scaling down of hours — and the offer as a whole with being not substantially better than one that the ranks had decisively rejected last September.

The membership demonstrated their solid agreement with the strike steering committee and at the same time gave the committee authority to lead the strike forward to victory.

There is now discussion through the ranks as to the possibility of pulling other teamsters into the struggle who have continued to operate since they are covered by

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## Demand 40-Hour Week

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separate contracts. There is also talk of launching a campaign to mobilize public pressure on the federal government to lift the exemption granted the trucking bosses and enforce the 40 hour work week which was put on the books last year under the Canadian Labor Standards Code.

The Ontario Federation of Labor, although the Teamsters are not members of it, has already endorsed their demand for a 40 hour week, and roundly scored Tory Ontario Labor Minister Leslie Rowntree for his attack on the 40 hour work week. Along with other arguments Mr. Rowntree condemned the 40 hour week as threatening "an injection of

dangerous inflationary pressure into the economy with long term unhappiness effects upon the prosperity of our people."

NDP deputy leader David Lewis accused the federal minister of labor of "criminality" in not taking action to implement federal legislation providing a 40 hour week for Ontario truckers.

The strategic position of the strikers has been gradually improving. This new offer — only a month ago the Motor Transport Industrial Relations Bureau said there would not be another — is proof of that. Early this month industrial officials in Quebec were reported as estimating that their production has been so crippled as to require the laying off of over 2,000 workers. Railways have picked up some of the business but despite considerable expansion they report facilities are being dangerously overtaxed and are jamming up. Airlines have been imposing periodic embargoes on air express shipments. The Canadian Industrial Traffic League, representing the transport interests of some 600 firms, has admitted that the strike is "creating havoc" among its members.

A broad appeal to the public, backed up by the organized labor movement, and a widening of the strike front, would exert a powerful pressure on the trucking bosses to concede the 40 hour work week with a substantial wage increase to make up the same take-home pay — plus.



# Action on Price Gouging Open the Books-Douglas

by THE EDITORS

Is it a bird? — a plane? No, it's the cost of living — read a headline over a recent daily newspaper article.

The consumers price index rose three tenths of a cent to a record 142.4 in March — due mainly to the hoist in food and clothing prices. Last March the index was 137.3. This is an increase of 3.7% for the year. And Finance Minister Sharp warned in his budget speech that we are heading into a massive 4% rise in prices this coming year.

The house of commons found time to discuss this matter under one of the four supply motions it has each year.

Pointing out that labor always finds its wages lagging behind the rising cost of living and that farmers are in a constant cost-price squeeze, NDP leader T. C. Douglas noted that as consumers we stand naked to the four winds of heaven, that we buy most of the things we need in a market where half a dozen large corporations are able to set the prices of the commodities the consumer wants. He made three proposals.

One proposal which we think of special value is that a prices review board be established. "Such a board," he said, "would be able to examine the books, the profit and loss statements, and the cost accounting material of the particular industry concerned, in order to find out whether or not increased wage costs and increased costs of raw materials warranted the increase which was being imposed on the public."

In backing up Douglas' proposal NDP MP Grace MacInnis stated that she thought that the consumers have now reached the point where "they want to see a board created before which manufacturers will have to appear to justify the increases they are proposing to make on items which are necessary for the households of this country."

When it came to the vote only one lone Tory supported the NDP proposition. It was attacked as "totalitarian" and "an infringement of free enterprise."

But why let the matter drop there? We agree that the working people of this country are prepared for such an investigation. Why then doesn't the NDP go about the process of initiating one? Why doesn't it go about encouraging the organization of consumers committees on prices?

It is true that such committees would not have legal authority, as would a government, to summon the manufacturers and merchandisers to appear before it — to compel them to justify intended price increases, to submit their profit and loss statements, to open their books for examination revealing the exorbitant salaries paid and special bonuses handed over to executives, their behind-the-scene deals with financiers, etc.

But what government even armed with such powers has seen fit to utilize them? Take the combines investigation legislation, for instance. It is generally conceded that under such legislation — supposedly designed to restrict the growth of monopolies — that monopolies, combines and cartels have actually multiplied. The fines that the courts have imposed on various corporations for conspiracies to maintain fraudulent prices, to raise prices, to knock out possible competitors, etc., are admitted to be nothing but "licenses to practice."

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The simple fact is that any serious investigation has to start from the ranks of the people — that effective action on prices can only come with organization of the power of the populace.

We could start in those communities and areas where the NDP has already established some influence. Why not with an organization of housewives? Who is more qualified to compare prices and quality of goods, to record the changes, to ferret out from the small shopkeepers the facts on how the wholesalers and manufacturers put the squeeze on them to pass increases onto consumers?

Through the party's connection with the trade union movement such committees could be linked up with councils of workers in the manufacturing process, in the distributing end, in costing and administration, accountants and statisticians, personnel at all levels of the

giant corporations. Only with such diverse and varied contact with the process as a whole could we actually learn and reveal how the giant corporations show losses at one level of their complex structure, in order to siphon off profits from another.

In fact it would appear axiomatic that such a mobilization of popular forces and the accumulation of data obtainable by such methods would have a most powerful influence on government to comply to such a demand as the NDP has put forward in the house. Only then could we expect it to force the monopolists to reveal additional data and to implement legislation of a restrictive character. We could even anticipate that the exposure of such information as could be gathered by bodies of this type would have an immediate restraining effect on business interests planning to institute further price increases. Action along these lines would have other commendable results. It would build the NDP and widen its influence. And besides it would prepare the forces for popular control of the entire productive forces of the country and their operation for use, not profit.

## The Way Ahead

Immediately following the conclusion of the Ottawa March, representatives of the key Vietnam committees across the country met to discuss the next moves to consolidate and deepen the powerful protest actions staged on that day. After a lengthy discussion it was agreed to establish a national anti-Vietnam-war bulletin to be published by the Ottawa Committee, with a wide range of correspondents across the country.

The representatives rejected almost unanimously any formal structuring of the movement at present. Rather than reflecting pessimism, this rejection flowed from the perspective of a powerful mass movement against the war and an understanding that the next move in this direction was to consolidate the local committees by involving the many new persons who had turned out to the March 26 demonstrations.

Since any present structure would tend to give heavy weight to the already-organized multi-issue anti-war groups, rather than to the new, unaffiliated persons who will constitute the bulk of any mass movement against the war, a formal structuring of the movement at this time would only restrict its growth.

Notable among the editors of the bulletin are the labor figures Ed Finn, an editor of the CBRT & GW monthly, *Canadian Transport*, and Gil Levine, of CUPE. The first issue of the bulletin is now off the press, and with its coverage of the March 26 protest, Canadian complicity, and trade union statements on the war, it should gain rapid acceptance as a powerful organizer against the war.

One of the most active independent committees is the high-school Students Against the War in Vietnam. It has just held a very successful demonstration in solidarity with the recent Vietnamese protests against U.S. domination. The Toronto demonstration attracted youth from several other cities, and SAWV is now considering branching out in several other cities.

Within the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the primary force behind the Ottawa march, there has been considerable discussion on the structure of the Committee; for the present, the Committee has voted to remain as a coordinating committee, rather than move toward the formation of a membership committee.

This is unfortunate, for it is the independent, single-issue, membership Vietnam committees across the country that are experiencing the most dynamic growth. These membership committees give the activists full democratic rights and responsibilities for the committees' work. They do not require activists, as do the coordinating committees, to join a specific multi-issue organization in order to gain representation in committee decisions. They permit persons to come to the Vietnam movement in their own ways, without necessarily subscribing beforehand to any specific philosophy. Membership committees also project the perspective of a mass movement against the war, uniting vast numbers on the single issue of Vietnam; whereas the coordinating structure projects the Vietnam movement as a united front of various multi-issue groups.

The growth of the Toronto Committee should clarify this question. The TCCEWV is proceeding with a number of actions, the first being a giant rally against Canadian complicity on May 7.

Just as the March 26 demonstrations have made clear the potential for a mass movement against Canadian complicity in the Vietnam war, so the activities of the numerous Vietnam committees across the country are showing encouraging motion to tap that potential.



# The Champion

by PAUL KANE

They have mobilized a massive campaign of ridicule and slander against him. They are trying to bankrupt him and drive him out of "the game." But Muhammed Ali, born with the slave-owner's name, Cassius Clay, is still the champ — the People's Champion, as he says.

That "they" — takes in a lot of territory. The hoodlums and gangsters who siphon off the dough as "their boys" get their brains battered loose from their skulls. "Respectable" businessmen such as Connie Smythe who operate on the higher levels of sport, who control the real estate and the bodies, who buy and sell players like so much horseflesh. The commissioners and the political hacks who make the ground rules. The columnists who fill the sports pages with the latest inside information, gossip, innuendo and bile. Taken all together they add up to what Malcolm X must have described to Muhammed Ali as "the white power structure" — capitalist society—a broad strata of the ruling class and their hangers-on. They have ganged up on Muhammed Ali.

That he is a Negro is reason enough. But what he said when the Louisville draft board switched from their attempt to label him a moron and classified him 1A, shook them up like an uppercut to the jaw. Thousands have said more, and there is no doubt that he spoke the feelings of the Negro people. But; "I've got no quarrel with the Viet Congs—Those Viet Congs are fighting a very nasty war. There's a lot of people over there getting killed," —that coming from the champ—is too much.

As Cassius Clay he was everything that they could have wanted of a boxer. A jet, beautiful, the fastest, the cleverest — all that he says he is. They try to present the sullied thing that they have made of sports as something clean, pure and ennobling. He doesn't smoke, he doesn't drink. The interviewer for

CBC's This Hour Has Seven Days was incredulous when Clay said he took his pleasure in a dish of ice cream, a walk, talking with friends.

Why didn't they cover up that remark about "the Congs"? Say a few words to the right people? Put a little in the right place? Suppress it? Bury it—instead of trying to kill the bout and finally driving it out of the U.S. and heaping discredit on their own racket.

The Illinois Athletic Commission found Terrell, unwanted by New York for his association with gangsters, OK to their taste. But when it came to Clay. Well, here is how one newspaperman described the furor kicked up by the governor of the state, the attorney general and others: "Wars have been declared with less deliberation." And so the fight was tossed out of Chicago, rejected by Montreal, made the rounds, until Toronto.

In explanation of his opposition to the bout being held in Maple Leaf Gardens, and alluding to Muhammed Ali's comment on Vietnam, Connie Smythe said there are even bigger things than "patriotism." Everyone else tried to kill it, so why, he asked "should Toronto be a city of last resort?" He peevishly charged chief Garden's director and strikebreaking owner of the Telegram, John Bassett, with selling out for cash, with putting "cash ahead of class."

Ontario's Athletic Commissioner, admitting that he didn't usually seek government approval, tossed the ball to the Minister of Labor. The Minister feinted, ducked and dodged, and finally decreed that the application met all legal requirements and so gave "the Commissioner no other choice but to authorize the staging of this bout."

"I want to emphasize," he added, "that this decision in no way condones or supports the previous actions, affiliations, or public statements made by either of the major

participants in this fight."

Whether Terrell counted himself out or got pulled out, we don't know. But out of the haze of smoke and debris of broken TV outlet contracts that sent the take plummeting, strode George Chuvalo. Muhammed Ali accepted, and all the columnists applied their talents to killing the bout. The scribe assigned by the New York Times in one of his blasts burst out "not a nickel should be contributed to the coffers of Clay."

The hucksters gave full vent to their bosses' spleen. In dozens of columns they revealed why they hate him. And it is not because he has adopted just another religion. But in becoming a Black Muslim he rejected their society — totally and absolutely. That is what's behind Globe and Mail columnist Beddoes' smear that Clay, whether he wants to or not, will go to jail as a Muslim martyr rather than be drafted for "The Muslims have karate specialists and head-breakers who assassinated Malcolm X, Clay's former great friend, after he defected. They don't only let the air out of whites."

Muhammed Ali got a few words through. "I'm not fighting for money — I'm fighting for the freedom of the black man," he said at the weigh in. He told another columnist; "It doesn't look right to the free world, the way I'm being treated. Other countries are begging for peace, so I'm not on the spot, the United States is on the spot. This all makes me bigger. I always knew I was meant for something. It's taking shape — a destiny. To be great you must suffer, you have to pay the price."

They are not going to stop their harassment. No sooner was the fight over than the Canadian government attached his share of the purse.

There is no doubt that Muhammed Ali is a champ — he has to be to take on such a gang.



## Labor Unity Will Halt Ottawa Plot

By THE EDITORS

The government has discussed and has prepared all the necessary legislation to impose compulsory arbitration on important sectors of the work force. There is no official confirmation that the brand reading **slave labor** is white hot and about to sear the flesh of the Quebec longshoremen, the St. Lawrence seaway workers and the 20,000 employees of the government-owned CNR. But that is to be expected. There has been no serious denial. Informed labor reporters for the daily press affirm it.

That Ottawa would like to deprive the working class of its elementary democratic right to withhold its labor has been clearly revealed by its handling of the Quebec longshoremen's strike that has tied up all three major St. Lawrence ports for weeks.

It has been a long time since any minister has so cynically torn off the mask of impartiality and so openly identified himself with the interests of Big Business, as has Labor Minister Nicholson.

NDP leader T. C. Douglas charged Mr. Nicholson in the House with acting as little more than a spokesman for the shipping bosses, with sounding like a press release from the Shipping Federation.

Mr. Nicholson not only fullsomely praised the conduct of the Federation, which the Longshoremen's Union charges is not a representative body of employers but an alliance of British Steamship companies who, since their ships are tied up by the British strike, are not interested in a settlement in Canada. He presented an offer which would eliminate 15% of the jobs as "substantial", as "fantastic", and went on to say that "I think properly that they might expect in return increased productivity."

When the stevedores rejected the offer as under their "rock bottom demands", and he was asked by the press whether the government would consider bringing in troops to handle cargo at the three ports, he said: "I wouldn't answer that."

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## Compulsory Arbitration

(continued from page 1)

Subsequently in the house he talked in terms of compulsory arbitration. At a press conference he talked frankly of the desirability of legislation that would reduce the number of labor disputes—at one point saying that compulsory arbitration through labor courts might be one solution. This has been introduced in Australia, he said, "and on the whole has worked well."

In the face of this ominous threat to castrate the Longshoremen, to intimidate the Seaway workers and give the railwaymen the working over that the government gave them in 1950 and again in 1956, the union leadership have been most restrained.

They cannot think that the government is not serious. Has the only-to-be-expected ruling by the Ontario court against their legal maneuvers in opposition to injunctions turned the fine words and action at the Oshawa injunctions protest into nothing?

Surely they do not dream that government intervention against

these workers will tame the rising tide of rank and file struggles and shove them back into the normal channels of business unionism?

If the leadership do not respond and mobilize a mighty coast to coast opposition, then the rank and file must find a way—for these blows being prepared against the longshoremen, the seaway workers and the railwaymen, will not end there. They will hammer down on the entire working class and render them powerless to defend their interests.

## Withdraw from NATO

The time is extremely favorable for a serious reappraisal of NATO. The time is increasingly favorable for taking important actions in the direction of completely reversing Canada's role, of making it a vital force for peace in the world.

Back in 1949, at the height of the cold war, the St. Laurent government dragged Canada into the Washington-dominated military alliance of NATO. It was through this aggressive alignment of military forces against the Soviet areas, and its complement NORAD, that Canada moved step by step, until under Lester Pearson, the erstwhile advocate of nuclear disarmament, it became a nuclear power subject to the control of the U.S. State Department.



The Hon. Paul Martin

The NATO alliance is now going through a crisis. The situation has come to a head due to inter-imperialist rivalries. In his search to re-establish France as an imperial power de Gaulle has challenged the U.S. with having established a protectorate over Europe under cover of NATO. Underlying the crisis is the fact that the lesser European powers are finding it more difficult to justify the huge costs of the alliance, and their satellite position in it, in the face of the increasingly more obvious fact that it is the U.S., and not the USSR, that persistently threatens world peace.

France, along with the declaration of withdrawal of its air and land forces from the NATO command on July 1st, gave Canada notice to quit the bases that it occupies on French soil by April 1967.

External Affairs Minister Paul Martin, instead of re-evaluating the whole question, in his capacity as president of the NATO Council has set Canada the object of shoring up the NATO structure. He is making every effort to keep France involved in NATO. He is also working on arrangements to close down the two Canadian bases in France, only to reopen them in Germany.

But the Canadian working people have no interest in maintaining troops in Europe, and certainly not the anti-Soviet aggressively-oriented assault-equipped forces now there. Besides, in the age of nuclear armed missiles, there is no such thing as defence.

The cost to the Canadian people of maintaining the French bases alone has been over \$500 million, not including the cost of facilities provided by the commonly-financed NATO infra-structure program. And this sum doesn't take into account the billions being spent every year to supply these NATO forces with the latest military hardware.

The Canadian people are paying an even higher cost. Under Ottawa's bi-partisan foreign policy not only their wealth but their good name has been used to underwrite the most bestial imperialist policies of the American ruling class which threaten, as final payment, the nuclear destruction of the world.

All those who want Canada to be a force for world peace and progress must speak up now for Canadian withdrawal from NATO, for the removal of all Canadian armed forces from other countries, and the freeing of Canadian soil from troops of other powers.



#119 June 1966

# LSA-LSO RALLY MARKS TURNING POINT

A highly successful delegated conference of the League for Socialist Action (LSA) and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) took place in Toronto over the holiday weekend of May 21, 22 and 23.

The conference registered an impressive growth both by the LSA and its Quebec homologue, the LSO. The representation of socialist activists from Quebec was a source of great satisfaction to the delegates from the rest of Canada for it signified not only a completely new development since the previous conference, but on the basis of the record already established, that the socialists there are beginning to sink roots in the Quebec soil.

There was an exceptionally strong representation from Vancouver and there were delegates from various Ontario and Prairie points that had never before been represented at a revolutionary socialist conference. One hundred and five persons attended the all-day sessions.

The progress of the movement, its dynamism, its great promise for the future, was also reflected in the youthfulness of the conference participants. Although there were some real veterans of the revolutionary socialist movement, the trade unions and the CCF in the thirties, the average age of the delegates was just under 25 years.

The major documents up for discussion also demonstrated that the LSO-LSA is already a serious participant and promises to become an even more effective one in the trade unions and in the anti-Vietnam-war movement. The LSA has obviously

deepened its roots in the NDP which it is firmly committed to build and to win to a socialist policy.

The conference came to order with Ross Dowson, editor of the *Workers Vanguard*, delivering a tribute to the first martyr of the U.S. anti-war movement — Leo Bernard. Dowson made a strong declaration of solidarity with the SWP, which lost in Bernard a devoted activist, and expressed the convictions of the delegates that the SWP and the entire anti-war movement will not falter in their efforts but will honor the memory of Bernard by extending and deepening their struggle to win the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The delegates sent their warmest greetings to Flora Noakes, lifelong companion of pioneer Canadian socialist Harry Noakes, who died since the last conference, and paid tribute to Tom Bradley, who had been a leading trade union militant in the pre and post World War II years.

The discussions that were then opened were immediately placed in their world context with a lengthy report by Alan Adair of the recent World Congress of the Fourth International, the world party of socialism founded by Leon Trotsky. Adair had had the privilege of attending the congress sessions held in Europe last Fall and he presented the salient ideas of the major positions adopted by that congress (the documents are available in the Winter issue of the *International Socialist Review*). The main line of the documents was endorsed by the

delegates who sent fraternal greetings to the Fourth International.

The major documents before the delegates and around which the main discussions revolved were: one analyzing the new stage in the development of the New Democratic Party, another on the trade unions, their character today and the tasks before them if they are to play an effective role in the struggle for the emancipation of labor, and another on the fight against American imperialism's war on Vietnam, and Canadian complicity. One whole day was allocated to discuss three major submissions on Quebec.

Following the presentation and discussion of the document on the NDP a preliminary discussion was opened up around a supplementary contribution on the question of a labor party formation in Quebec and the role of the NDP.

John Riddell, the editor of the bi-monthly *Young Socialist Forum*, presented a report on the ferment amongst the youth and the problems and possibilities of developing it along positive, socialist lines. The attraction of new and fresh forces around the YSF was obviously one of the most encouraging developments for socialism.

The trade union document was presented, discussed and adopted. It was agreed to edit it along the lines of the discussion for immediate publication. With the presentation of the document on the Canadian Fight Against the War in Vietnam and the ensuing discussion, it was apparent that there were differences. They were referred to a panel to be

held that evening which was instructed to present a memorandum at the next day's session. The following day a five line supplement designed to help step up the opposition to the war and Canadian complicity was presented and adopted for incorporation in the main document.

The all-day session devoted to an analysis of class forces and the national question in Quebec was opened with a statement of agreement that none of the three documents before the conference would be voted on but would be part of a continuing discussion. It was unanimously agreed that the LSA and LSO would function as component parts of a common organization.

In order to assure the broadest discussion it was agreed that all LSO members have full voice and consultative vote on all questions related to Quebec.

The highlights of the discussion were the reports by Bourhis and Brock, and following a wide participation by the delegates and LSO members, their summary contributions. The debate was on a high theoretical level involving as it does the new phenomena of important nationalist currents arising in other advanced capitalist sectors of the world such as Belgium and the United States.

By all counts this was the most impressive and inspiring conference of revolutionary socialists yet held in this country. It marked a turning point in the struggle to build the type of movement necessary to win Canada to world socialism.



# Step-up Protest Against Vietnam War Aug. 6-9

By THE EDITORS

The Pearson government is silent, but the Canadian people dare not, and cannot be, in the face of the latest criminal actions of the U.S. government. For, with the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, Washington ripped off its flimsy pretences that escalation was a device to force negotiations. It is clear that with this foul act, Mr. Johnson has set the stage for an all-out war on the north, and eventually on China itself.

Mr. Pearson provided the parliamentary opposition a short opportunity to let off steam before a House attendance that never topped 40 members. But the NDP M.P.'s need not listen for the echo of their own voices in this empty and meaningless chamber. The people of Canada are not without means to express their opposition to this perilous situation that they are being dragged into.

These coming August 6-9 Days of International Protest can serve to answer the escalation of the war with an even mightier escalation of protest against the war. The militants

who have carried the actions of protest until now must be supplemented by such numbers of the Canadian people as have never been seen before.

The August 6-9 Days of Protest are not only directed against the Liberals and their supporters, who have made Canada a party to the crime being committed in Vietnam—the Socreds, and Mr. Diefenbaker who sought to even more clearly define his servility to Washington by cautioning Mr. Martin not to yield to demands that the U.S. get out of Vietnam. These days of protest are to express Canadian solidarity with the rising forces of opposition to Johnson's policies inside the United States itself, to express Canadian identity with those who have been given the historic task of playing a key role in ending the counterrevolutionary war in Vietnam.

The Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam has called for a massive assembly of protest at the key border area of Niagara Falls—there it will fuse with anti-Vietnam war forces from Upper State New York. A parallel action is being carried out by B.C. forces in solidarity with Americans at the border town of Blaine, Washington. There will be demonstrations elsewhere across the country appropriate to the circumstances.

It is the responsibility of everyone to make the August 6-9 demonstrations a mighty and resounding success.

**WORKERS**  
**Vanguard**



# Labor Mobilizing to Defend Rights

WORKERS  
**Vanguard**

#120 July 1966

## WHICH WAY-OSHAWA OR PETERBOROUGH?

By ROSS DOWSON

The sentence of five Peterborough unionists to six months in jail and another 21 to 15 days in jail for contempt of court in defying an injunction barring mass picketing at the Tilco Plastics plant has roused the entire labor movement. It has provoked an explosive reaction from sections of the leadership.

The fact that the Ontario Supreme Court Justice handed down not a fine, but a jail sentence; that among the victims were leading trade unionists including an international representative; together with the fact that this vindictive action was the payoff for a carefully worked out strategy of fighting injunctions in the courts, rather than on the picket line, no doubt heightened the leadership's response.

"This is a declaration of war by the Attorney-General against the labor movement. He's using the courts as an instrument of vindictiveness," exclaimed Donald Montgomery, president of the Toronto and District Labor Council. "It's just the beginning of a long fight."

### The Gauntlet Has Been Thrown Down

"This is an act of madness," cried Canadian UAW Director George Burt. "Organized labor will hang this ruling around the neck of this government. The courts have got themselves into disrepute by this punitive action."

"Undoubtedly the learned judge fancied himself to be upholding and insisting upon the dignity of the courts. Instead he has heaped indignity upon them because in the eyes of the Canadian working man this ruling shows the courts to be an instrument of the Establishment . . . The gauntlet has been thrown down and it will be picked up."

"Organized labor will now take on the injunction issue as it has never taken it on before. If this government thinks jail terms are the way to enforce injunctions," Burt cried, "it had better get a crash building program going on, jails, because it is going to run out of space."

Murray Cotterill, national public relations director for the United Steelworkers, exclaimed that this action "will result in the most juicy, most violent labor demonstrations in history."

NDP MPP Fred Young, in his address to the Peterborough Labor Council, predicted an unprecedented upsurge in political activity throughout the trade union movement and among all people vitally concerned with justice. He foresaw Peterborough being the centre of a political storm which could sweep across the province to instal an NDP government at Queen's Park.

But now the tumult has ebbed and labor is faced with the responsibility of translating words into deeds. The labor brass have had their hour-long meeting with Premier Robarts who, while promising an injunction probe, utilized the occasion to firmly declare that his government's first concern is to uphold the existing law—including injunctions designed to smash strikes. A few days earlier a Supreme Court judge issued an injunction limiting a Machinists' picket line in Brantford to twelve.

The Executive Council of the CLC has decided to hold a legislative conference for September 27-28, which will include representatives of all provincial labor federations and spokesmen for each of the CLC's 110 affiliated unions. The announced purpose of the conference is to map out a campaign for the abolition of injunctions in industrial disputes.

### Steel Projects False Course

There have been two policies projected before labor. The one

course is that advocated in the statement of the leaders of the United Steelworkers, issued in the wake of Justice Gale's decision that the Tilco demonstrators were in contempt of court. The Steel leadership interpret the Gale decision to mean "that labor cannot prevent strike-breaking by means of mass demonstration," and urge that the emphasis now be shifted from a fight against injunctions to a struggle for legislation to ban strikebreaking.

The other was expressed by the Canadian Council of the Auto-workers on the heels of the sentence of the Tilco demonstrators to jail. The UAW council called on the OFL "to mount an all-out campaign against strikebreaking by the courts." It advocated the Oshawa way—organized mass defiance of this class legislation and its enforcement by class-biased courts—the way of civil disobedience.

When you boil the Steel leadership's policy down, it is one of trying to convince those now in power, through "responsible" conduct and clever legalistic argument that the laws of the class struggle should be suspended, even reversed—changed to outlaw the employers' use of strikebreakers in legal strikes. The Steel statement alternates between flattery—that "with few exceptions strikebreaking is no longer

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## Oshawa or Tilco Way?

(continued from page 1)

practised by responsible employers", and friendly warnings that "the law must therefore be changed quickly before some irresponsible employer produces a social explosion to avoid real union recognition or to save himself a few pennies per hour."

This policy has been tested time and again. In fact it was this policy that was tested at Peterborough. Tilco was a controlled demonstration, a sort of soft sell after Oshawa. As soon as the Attorney-General did what its organizers wanted, laid formal charges against the leaders, the rest of the demonstrators were dismissed—the struggle was taken off the picket line into the courts.

The courts being what they are—the verdict was inevitable. It was the maliciousness of the sentence that shocked the Steel brass, but not to their senses as to the real nature of the struggle, rather to give up the struggle against injunctions entirely—in favor of what they call a "battle" for legislation to ban strikebreaking.

To direct labor's entire fight against injunctions into the courts, as was done at Tilco, is the same as to abjectly submit to the union-busting injunctions on the picket lines. And the leadership have certainly tested that policy. That policy has led nowhere but to defeats—defeats dealt by the "irresponsible" Big Three Toronto Newspaper Lords against the printers' unions, and before that by the "irresponsible" Lever Brothers, and the "irresponsible" owners of the Royal York—the CPR.

What was the Oshawa way? The labor brass and the NDP MPP's are trying to re-write this stirring episode. When Attorney-General Wishart claimed that labor practised mass civil disobedience there, in the struggle against the injunction that had been granted Lord Thomson's newspaper, NDP MPP's James Renwick and Stephen Lewis denied it and challenged him to substantiate it. When Mr. Wishart referred to the fact that the injunction had been torn from the sheriff's hands and ripped to shreds as he retreated before a barrage of jeers and snowballs, and the demonstrations continued until victory, Renwick accused him of relying on "casual newspaper reports."

It was left to the Liberal demagogue Elmer Sopha to paraphrase what NDP leader Donald MacDonald told the picketers as they openly violated the law: "Some of the most historic events in history are those centered around people who defied the law because they became convinced that the law enshrined injustice."

Organized labor is at such a historic juncture now. And there's no way out but to defy this law which enshrines injustice.



## Que. Hospital Workers Win Against All Odds

By JEAN LaPLANTE

A stoppage by 35,000 of Quebec's hospital workers? Not probable! A Strike? Impossible! Should the impossible loom up there are court injunctions readily available that will start everyone scurrying back to work! There are special boards of conciliation, all kinds of devices up to and including, if necessary, compulsory arbitration!

That was the thinking, up until last month, of the medical hierarchy who rule Quebec's hospitals with an iron fist.

But that is all changed now. The impossible happened on July 15. On that day 32,500 hospital employees right across Quebec — non-medical and nursing employees — withdrew their services. They struck. 139 of Quebec's 160 hospitals were affected.

Hospital officials, organized in the Quebec Hospital Association had plenty of warning. Negotiations had been going on for months. The strike vote was taken back on June 29. But instead of meeting the demands of the hospital workers, organized in the National Federation of Services, affiliated to the Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions, they took a whole series of counter actions.

The medical hierarchy commenced to ruthlessly limit admissions into the hospitals except what they declared to be emergency cases. They discharged thousands who they now pronounced did not require hospitalization. This varied, according to the institution, from 10% to 60% of the occupants.

The Association no longer beat the drums about the essential role

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## HOSPITAL STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

of hospital workers and the essentiality of hospital services that forbade one to even think of such an action as a strike. They seemed bent on proving that all their previous arguments used to hamstring hospital workers from rectifying their rotten conditions were invalid, that in fact a great number, if not the majority of hospital workers are quite unnecessary in the operation of efficient health services.

The workers struck. Their offer to aid in the emptying of the hospitals was rejected out of hand. The union immediately offered the services of their members free of charge to the public. They set up a central telephone exchange. 180 striking nurses gave home care. Under prescription the striking hospital workers supplied such vital services as care for new-born children, injections, medical dressings, etc.

The Union Nationale Government was of course caught up in the situation. According to popular myth the government's role is to intervene in such situations in the interests of the public as a whole, usually presented as being somewhere in between the interests of the contending forces.

Since the hospital workers' wages and working conditions are a scandal, and the union's demands modest, the government could have instructed the boards to grant them — and would have thus ended the strike. Over and above the immediate interests of the public they would have been quite justified in doing so because these boards of businessmen doctors and their sycophants exist only at their pleasure. While the hospitals are owned by religious orders and corporate societies they are supposed to be non-profit. They are entirely dependent on public donations and subsidies from the public treasury to defray their cost of operation. What these public subsidies in all the various forms amount to is unknown as their books remain sealed from public scrutiny.

Premier Johnson studiously evaded commenting on the workers' demands. Prior to the strike his government bestirred itself — it injected a mediator into the situation. Once the strike was underway it acted much more rapidly and decisively. It granted court injunctions to the medical hierarchy which ordered the workers back on the job, or face fines and possible imprisonment.

The hospital workers ignored the injunctions and they were quickly forgotten by everyone — except the medical hierarchy, of course, the Quebec division of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association which condemned the defiance as a "flagrant example of social irresponsibility," and the former Liberal Premier Jean Lesage. He is still rapping Premier Johnson and the provincial Justice Department for its failure "to protect that which is the very basis of democracy, the judiciary" — for not enforcing the injunctions.

The strikers remained firm for one, two and going onto three weeks, when Premier Johnson passed an order-in-council calling for a special session of the legislature, with suggestions that it might enact legislation — possibly compulsory arbitration. The union leadership accepted a conditional wage offer made by the government mediator.

But the hospital directors remained intransigent. The government then quietly named its former mediator a trustee who then overrode the directors' opposition to a promotion procedure that would have restrained their unrestricted choice of senior staff.

Some 90% of the 32,500 strikers, after 20 days on the line, voted for the settlement which includes an average 18% wage increase, a reduction in working hours, and increased holidays. The new agreement not only affects the 32,500 directly involved but another 26,500 hospital employees who until now do not belong to unions.

The government trustee overrode the hospital directors and the directors submitted to the limited restraints on their rule of the hospitals. Could it be because on the first day of the strike picket signs appeared on the lines reading—The Remedy? —Nationalization of the hospitals!

La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière advocates such a policy. A statement by Jean-Marie Bedard advocating public ownership in the name of the Parti Socialiste du Québec received press — and Pierre Bourgault, leader of the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance made it number one of his four-point policy statement on the strike. He called for expropriation "since the people of Quebec have already paid for the erection of the buildings and the organization of the hospital services." Without nationalization, he said, there can be no real solution of the conflict.





# Grant R. R. Workers' Dem

## NO FORCED ARBITRATION!

## NATIONALIZE THE CPR!

By THE EDITORS

The railway workers strike, which will surely paralyze the country, can easily be halted. All that need be done is grant the railway workers their demands. If the strike takes place the responsibility is clear. Not the railway workers—the Liberal government headed by Mr. Pearson is responsible.

The prime minister and his ministers have been trying to appear as mediators between the railway unions and the spokesmen of the CNR and CPR. This is the crudest of frauds.

While it is unfortunately under no control at all of broad, democratic organs of the people, the CNR is nationalized. The government, the cabinet, the capitalist state, has complete and absolute control over the CNR, and through that power, should it choose to exercise it, considerable control over the massive holdings of the CPR.

Both railroads from their origins have lived a completely parasitic existence. They were conceived in graft and loot from the public treasury and have continued to breed ever vaster holdings, a richer and more powerful hierarchy of highly-paid executives, and lusher dividends for a handful of bondholders, as they have fed voraciously on the blood of the Canadian people.

For years government ownership of the CNR has meant servicing the enormous debt imposed on the public treasury, and its utilization as an experimental guinea pig, a "loss leader" for the CPR moguls. Today the government is attempting to utilize the crisis that it itself has generated around the possible shutdown of the railroads to further its efforts on behalf of its Big Business bosses to impose restrictive, union-busting legislation on the entire Canadian labor movement.

It utilized its intervention in the Quebec dock workers strike only last month to impose compulsory arbitration of the question of the

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## Support Rail Workers!

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number of the work force, on the Longshoremen's Union. When the union leaders, including Canadian Labor Congress President Claude Jodoin denied that they had been party to any such agreement, the government jammed the legislation through the House, the Senate, and had it approved by the governor-general, in record time during the closing hours of the last parliament.

The government is manipulating the crisis, and the few concessions that it has suggested it is prepared to make, to swing into action the long-suspended MacPherson report on transportation. By this means it hopes to pass the devastating effect of the plans projected in the report—the scrapping of branch lines, the wrecking of communities, the layoffs—onto the backs of the railway workers and the working people generally.

Mr. Pearson has not questioned the justice of the wage increases sought by the railway men. He has suddenly seized upon the fact that they seek wage increases at all to demonstrate his concern about the inflationary bout that has been raging for the past two years. The truth is, as Mr. Pearson knows, if only from his reading last year's report of his Labor Department's research branch, that wages have been no serious push on prices in the past decade (see *Vanguard*,

June, 1965). If the government were serious about fighting inflation it would move out boldly against the source of the trouble—the Big Business interests, the profiteers and the price gougers—not the railway workers.

The people of Canada must make it clearly known to Ottawa now: (1) that they want the railwaymen to have the wage increases they seek; (2) that they will fight with all their strength against the imposition of any form of compulsory arbitration on the railway unions, that they insist that the railway men decide by democratic vote whether to accept any offer legislated by the House of Commons.

These will deal with the immediate problem. But there can be no solution of the transportation question confronting the country that would be in the interests of the people unless the CPR is nationalized. Then it can be fused with the CNR and both placed under democratic organs of control of the workers and technicians who know them and work them.

## For a New Leadership

When some 3,000 Hamilton steelworkers set up a picket line and closed down the entire Stelco operation early this month the union leadership made out that it was an action of anybody and everybody but bona fide rank and file members of the Steelworkers' union. They Trotsky-baited. They said the culprits were possible supporters of the Liberal Party, interested in embarrassing the NDP-affiliated local. Even persons in no way associated with the union.

Now Steel-leader Eamon Park has dug up another scapegoat. It is no less than the prime minister himself — Mr. Lester B. Pearson.

Mr. Pearson, according to Mr. Park, has built up pressures on management and union negotiators with the settlement reached in the St. Lawrence Seaway and Quebec dockworkers' struggles. Mr. Park wouldn't say whether he thought the workers' demands were just, either in these cases or in the case of the railway workers.

What was wrong, he said, was not the amounts but that there was "no rationale" behind the amounts. It was resulting, he suggested, in local unions only considering their own strength and what they can force out of a company.

In face of the obvious fact that we live in a society of conflicting class interests — where employers buy labor for as little as possible and sell its products for as much as they can get for it — and where workers sell their labor power for as much as they can obtain for it in the given situation, Mr. Park dragged out an old chestnut. He talked of the "national interest", when Canada is in reality composed of not one, but two nations — whose war with one another will only be ended when labor's interests, the interests of the overwhelming majority, prevail over the dictatorial power of capital.

Of course there was a clear rationale behind the Seaway and Quebec dockworkers' settlements. Mr. Pearson was well aware of the strategic position of those workers and their determination to win their demands. There is also a rationale in Mr. Park's comments. He and the entire trade union bureaucracy are confronted with a rising rank and file dissatisfaction with their leadership — a developing struggle for a new leadership.

Now there can be no doubt who the culprits were who closed the Stelco operation. They have announced themselves in the vote on the contract that the leadership claims would make them the highest paid steelworkers in the world. Some 4,494 members of Local 1005 turned thumbs down on the three-year contract — rejecting it by a majority of over 550 votes.



## WHAT LIES BEHIND

# The Crisis in China

By P. KENT

What is happening in China, amongst her 700 million peoples who succeeded in ending the age-long imperialist exploitation of their country, uniting it, and despite terrible difficulties which include continued harassment by U.S. imperialism and the disruption and chaos resulting from the withdrawal of Soviet specialists, have been transforming the entire economy? What is the meaning of "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" that has been going on since the beginning of May?

The Chinese press, radio and TV have been directing a crescendo of attacks on "political thieves," "bad elements," on "monsters and demons," "ogres of all kinds entrenched in ideological and cultural positions." "Nothing less is involved," say the editors of *Liberation Army Daily* than "a life and death struggle" against "anti-party, anti-socialist activities," which are "in tune with the anti-China chorus raised by the imperialists, modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries, in conformity with the activities of the overthrown reactionary classes within the country to attempt a restoration, and in coordination with the antiparty activities of the right opportunist elements within the party."

The gravity of these accusations and the scale and intensity of the polemical campaign betoken a condition of high tension within the ruling circles of the regime.

At first those who were assailed were writers, experts and scholars such as Teng To, one of China's leading journalists, former editor-in-chief of the *Peoples Daily*, the principal party newspaper, and president of the Chinese Soviet Friendship Association. But as the campaign continues it has reached up into the top circles of the Com-

munist Party apparatus, in the capital of Peking, and on through the ranks of the party and government at all levels and all over China.

### Central Committee Purge

Following the meeting of the Central Committee this month (there has been no party congress since 1958) a list of the party leaders was published. Among the missing was not only Pen Chen, mayor of Peking since 1951 and first secretary of the Peking municipal CP, generally considered as the fifth most powerful figure in China, but Liu Po-cheng, one of China's leading military strategists, deputy chairman of the National Defence Council, along with two other deputy chairmen, one deputy Premier, Nah Jungchen, and more than 10 regular or alternate members of the Communist Party of China Central Committee.

While the mass media has been geared to churn out endless material that fulminates and rages against "bourgeois elements wrapped in red flags," the views of the opposition remain unpublished.

The Chinese leadership who insisted that their differences with Khrushchev and then Brezhnev-Kosygin should be discussed in detail openly and above board have covered up the real issues of the dispute that has been shaking Chinese society. But from a study of the accusations that have been levelled against the opposition it is possible to generally define their outlook.

(1) They are against the bureaucracy and its arbitrariness, and want freedom of thought, criticism. In other words they want a program such as the "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom" and "Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend" to be the norm. This short lived movement in 1957 invited the intellectuals and the people as a whole to speak their mind, to criticize the "three harms" within the CCP — "bureaucratism, commanderism and subjectivism."

This movement released such a

massive criticism that the leadership suppressed it. But not before they charged such persons as Teng To, who as editor of *People's Daily* publicized much of it, with being "rightists". Teng's friend Lin Hsi Ling, a student movement leader and member of the CCP youth organization who was purged at the time reflected the revolutionary tendency of this movement, however. She wrote that "the present upper strata of China does not correspond with the property system of common ownership" because "the party and state apparatus has become a set of bureaucratic organs ruling people without democracy."

(2) They are against the adventurism of the CCP with its programs like the "Big Leap Forward" and its wasting of the people's labor in such things as the backyard steel-making, forced collectivization of the peasants into the People's Com-

munes which they claim have not been successful but have been damaging.

(3) They doubt the infallibility of Mao Tse Tung around whom a campaign of deification, not even matched by that of Stalin has been developed. According to a violent attack appearing in the August 12 *Peking Review*, Chou Yang, a deputy leader of the propaganda bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP, hailed Khrushchov's denunciation of the personality cult of Stalin, attacked the vulgar non-Marxist concept of Proletarian art, and at a forum in 1962 said "In ancient times, there were the royal way and the tyrant's way. If socialism doesn't give democracy then it is the tyrant's way."

(4) Aside from the stresses and strains within China itself a realistic view of her worsened international situation must be one of the primary

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**Mao Tse Tung**

sources of dissension within the party cadre and at the top of the party and the government. It is probable that some, particularly in the military, would like to get out of the dead end that Mao's factionalism with the Soviet revisionists has got China into, and explore the possibilities of arriving at some new relationship in the face of the U.S. threat in Vietnam.

The disastrous role of Moscow's opportunism is undeniable. However the extreme sectarian position taken by Peking in rejecting a united front against U.S. imperialism — especially in regard to the Vietnam war—has not only weakened the struggle against imperialism but it has heightened the danger of an attack on China herself and increased the possibilities of a nuclear war.

This sectarian position has also led to the increasing isolation of China in the non-capitalist world. Many of the workers states that had continued to lean towards China are now leaning more toward Moscow. North Korea has recently declared its independence of Peking.

Signs of differences have emerged with Hanoi which sent representatives to the twenty-third congress despite Peking's ban. The speeches made during the Albanian delegation's visit to Peking implicitly warned the North Vietnamese, who have been trying to steer a middle course between Moscow and Peking, against remaining friendly with the perfidious Russians. Both the Chinese and Albanians insist that there can be no neutrality in the Sino-Soviet dispute and that the struggle against "Soviet revisionism must be carried through to the end." The end means severing ties with Moscow on both a state and party level.

This factional demand that "Soviet revisionism must be defeated before victory over imperialism can be attained" was one of the major factors in precipitating a rupture between Havana and Peking.

Also the defeats suffered by the colonial revolution and the failure of Chinese diplomacy in the "third world" have led to increased isolation for China and to the demoralization of Peking's followers all over the world.

#### **Indonesian Catastrophe**

The crushing of the Communist party in Indonesia with hardly a fight, stands out as one of the greatest defeats and tragedies for China. D. N. Aidit, whose policies were almost identical to those followed by the Khrushchevists spoke many

times in China; his books were translated into Chinese and he was highly praised by the leadership of the CCP who held up the PKI as a model Communist party, and one to be emulated by the other Communist parties in the world. The responsibility for the tragedy of the PKI and the Aidit leadership falls directly on the Maoist leadership.

Prominent spokesmen in Peking have dismissed these reverses as unimportant and asserted that such temporary setbacks are inevitable on the road to complete victory. Such official optimism and the fierce attacks on the opposition may for a time succeed in silencing the opposition mood but Mao cannot suppress the objective conditions which are giving rise to it. As Teng To put it, "People who think of themselves as being omniscient, despise the masses" and "attempt to win victory by devious means. Such people . . . will be defeated in the end."

The victory, however will not be scored by reaction or by procapitalists who are undoubtedly to be found in the administration, and in very high posts at that. The victory will be won by those seeking proletarian democracy based on the conquests of the revolution. That victory will reinforce those conquests and assure China a genuine big leap forward, not only at home but internationally.



# Castro Speaks On Aid To Vietnam And On The Path To Power In L.A.

Fidel Castro's July 26 speech this year was an emphatic restatement of the necessity of armed struggle in the fight for revolutionary power. As a contribution to the developing Latin American polemic over revolutionary strategy, Castro's speech was clearly an attack on many of the Moscow-line Communist parties which emphasize the "peaceful road" and the "parliamentary process", as against armed revolution. However, Castro did not mention any Communist parties by name.

In a step-by-step reiteration of the guerrilla war against Batista, the Cuban prime minister stressed the overriding importance of a conviction to the goal of military victory as the key to revolutionary success. He culminated the speech by pledging the Cuban people's unconditional support to the Vietnamese struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Castro praised the dedication of the Vietnamese people in their determination to resist U.S. aggression to the end. Then he raised the question of what is meant by offering "volunteers" to support the Vietnamese:

"It is very simple. If Vietnam asks us for aid and tells us what kind of technicians they want us to send, whether tank, anti-aircraft, artillery or infantry specialists, we will go to our military units, and we will ask them . . . to go to Vietnam. Such is the hate inspired by the imperialists, such is the indignation they have provoked all over the world . . . that we are sure that every unit in our armed forces will be ready and willing to be among the first to go to fight the Yankee imperialists."

Castro singled out for particular attack in this speech what he called "defeatists" and "pseudo-revolutionaries" who inevitably manage to explain away their failure to make revolutions by claiming that "the subjective factors do not exist."

"In the face of setbacks," he stated, "the pseudo-revolutionaries shout that the true revolutionary path has failed. There are some who attempt to present us as war fanatics, as maniacs of armed rebellion. There are those who pose as sensible people, as so many we knew here, and preach the path of electioneering and empty speechifying."

"We do not hold that every country has exactly the same conditions as Cuba," the Cuban prime minister continued, "and in fact, even in this continent there are some exceptions, but very, very few exceptions, where conditions are

different, where the possibilities are more difficult.

"But we are convinced that in the immense majority of the Latin American countries, there are better conditions for making a revolution than those that existed in Cuba. And if revolutions do not take place in those countries, it is because many of those who call themselves revolutionaries lack conviction."

Castro asserted that the subjective consciousness necessary for a successful struggle would develop in the course of the fight itself. "There is no better teacher of the masses than the revolution," he stated. "There is no better motor of revolutions than the class struggle, the struggle of the masses against their exploiters."

"And it was the revolution itself," he continued, "which created a revolutionary consciousness. This thing about believing that consciousness has to come first and the struggle later is a mistake. The struggle has to come first and inevitably behind the struggle with a growing impetus will come a revolutionary consciousness."

The Cuban prime minister also spent much time refuting the "ignoramus from Texas" charge that the Cuban revolution had deteriorated and was suffering setbacks. He cited the security of every citizen, "security in employ-



Fidel Castro

ment, security in old age, the security of the farmer concerning his possessions and the property of his land, the security of the youth concerning the future, security for women" as the essential ingredients of the Cuban revolutionary accomplishments.

Castro mentioned Indonesia as an example of a real setback: "The Indonesian problem is most lamentable, but what happened there is what happens in halfway revolutions. And what happens in revolutions where things are done only by halves does not happen in revolutions which are made whole. And

much less when you make a revolution and a half."

Castro also took a further step in his polemic against Chilean president Eduardo Frei Montalva. "Frei represents a reformist anti-revolutionary current in Latin America," Castro declared; "Frei represents what Yankee imperialism wants . . . and it would be an erroneous policy not to understand this."

The Cuban prime minister attacked Soviet-bloc countries which give aid to the Frei regime. "It is our duty," he said, "to warn the socialist countries against Frei's hypocrisy, against Frei's flirtations, since the prostitute will not become a virtuous woman simply because some of her flirtations are successful."


In concluding the July 26 memorial, Fidel Castro stated:

"We consecrate this 26th of July to solidarity with the people of Vietnam . . ."

"Their Cuban brothers will not fail the people of Vietnam whenever they should ask for any help of any kind. We also dedicate to the people of Vietnam, in homage to their heroic fighters, our own watchword, coinciding with the goal they are so splendidly fighting for, the watchword of—FATHERLAND OR DEATH, WE WILL WIN!"



# WORKERS Vanguard

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## BEHIND THE CRUSHING OF *The Great Rail Strike*

By JEAN LAPLANTE

The Canada-wide strike of the 110,000 railway workers last month was the most massive demonstration of civil disobedience that this country has yet seen.

The last great demonstration of civil disobedience was the strike initiated at the end of World War II by the autoworkers and carried through by the steelworkers. The Liberal government of that time went through the pretense of assuming control of the Stelco operations

and decreed penalties of \$20 a day on any workers who would dare to strike against the government. The steelworkers struck. They smashed the wage freeze imposed by the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, administered by Donald Gordon, and by-passed the government arbitration processes and the War Labor Boards — in defiance of the government.

Last month the railway workers in some areas in the Maritimes, in Quebec, and across the West, held out for as long as five days after the Liberal government shackled them with compulsory arbitration — subjecting each and every one of them under the Criminal Code to a maximum of two years in jail should they fail to comply forthwith.

The post World War II struggle ended with the highest cross-the-board wage increases until that time, and consolidated the unions in basic industry. The railway workers struggle petered out with an 18% increase that they had unanimously rejected earlier, and a promise, after the shackles of compulsory arbitration had been clamped on and an arbitrator appointed, to discuss and decide upon further concessions.

The contrast between what came out of these two massive struggles in defiance of the government has to do primarily with the matter of leadership. Such massive pressures had developed by the close of World War II that the as-yet not firmly entrenched union leadership was driven by the ranks like a leaf before a storm.

It wasn't at all that today the railway workers were in a weaker position or less prepared to fight. On the contrary, despite the gang-up of the Liberal government, the administrators of the publicly-owned CNR, the strategists of the CPR oligopoly and the Tories and Socred, the railway workers were in a strategic position to win. What worried this unholy alliance and its supporters in the house, even after

## BEHIND THE CRUSHING OF *The Great Rail Strike*

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they had made every effort to mould public opinion against the railway workers through a sudden discovery of the dangers of inflation, was just that.

The debate in the house did not revolve around abstract principles of justice and the sanctity of the law, but quite frankly around the question of the relationship of class forces. The thought that pushed its way up through every speech by this cabal of labor-haters was: if the slave labor bill is passed will the railway workers comply, even should their leaders advise them to do so?

Senator Croll felt called upon to explain this fact of life to a fellow senator and former cabinet minister in the Diefenbaker government which in 1960 had driven the railway workers back on the job. The government couldn't have stopped them this time, explained Senator Croll. "You'd have had wildcats all over the place in a minute. That's the mood they're in — You have to reason with these people."

The government at no time had to worry about any sector of the union leadership taking a firm, principled stand against compulsory arbitration. Not one did. By the time the strike deadline came around important sectors of the railway workers had already clearly de-

monstrated their lack of confidence in the leadership through a series of wildcats in Montreal and Toronto, almost a month before, and another series at many points across the country days before the deadline.

Having discounted the national leadership, the union rank and file across the country sought in vain for a call for defiance from some district council, or even some local administration. But the secondary and tertiary leadership, even where it demonstrated some understanding of the problem, proved unable to stand up. In some locals where militants were able to carry a decisive vote to stay out, the local leadership seized all picket signs, closed up local offices and disappeared.

Workers in area after area held out. Dissatisfaction was particularly high in the shop craft workers, who even where they went back the day the bill was passed, would have responded to the unifying declaration. But it never came.

The railway union leadership was put to the test and proven bankrupt at every level. The coming conventions of the unions, where the leaderships will be called to account, are certain to be stormy — for there is no way out but to build a new leadership.

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## Workers Urge General Strike As Judge Jails B.C. Leaders

By ROSS DOWSON

Will the jailing of four prominent B.C. unionists for defying anti-picket injunctions stir the leadership of the Canadian Labour Congress into action? Last April the delegates assembled at the Winnipeg Convention enthusiastically passed a motion committing the CLC (AFL-CIO) to struggle for the elimination of injunctions in labor disputes.

According to Ray Haynes, president of the B.C. Federation of Labor, the Vancouver jailings will be the signal for "a gigantic campaign to end the use of injunctions in labor disputes" a campaign which will end the use of injunctions "once and for all."

That was the mood of the workers who jammed the court on September 29 to hear Justice MacDonald sentence Secretary of the Vancouver and District Labor Council, Paddy Neale, Vice-President of Vancouver IWA Local

1-217, Tom Clarke, to six months; Art O'Keeffe, former business agent of Local 214 IBEW, to four months in jail, and fine 15 others \$500 and \$100 each.

Tom Clarke drew cheers from the audience with his powerful speech in defence of labor and in defiance of the bosses and their courts (see box). No doubt Clarke's speech, along with the harshness of the sentences did much to stir memories of heroic days through the ranks of the 30,000 B.C. members of the International Woodworkers of America. The resolutions committee had to assure the delegates to the B.C. district convention, held only a few days after the sentences had been handed down, that it desired only to give the B.C. Federation of Labor more flexibility, when it modified a resolution calling for a one day general strike to read "job action" to protest the jailings and the use of injunctions.

The next day, however, a mass meeting of the 7,000 member Local 1-217 IWA affirmed that what it wants is a one day general strike. Both resolutions will be up for debate at the B.C. Federation annual convention Oct. 13—Nov. 4.

But it is clear that there will be no effective action from the CLC executive committee in defence of labor's hard won gains from legal strikebreaking unless a fire is built under them, unless they are shaken up by the roots, and the process of building a new leadership got underway.

The September 27-28 conference called in Ottawa by the CLC showed that the top brass is not only fat and lazy. It is promoting a completely diversionist line through spokesmen who more properly belong in the Canadian Manufacturer's Association and the Board of Trade, than to the trade union movement, a line which means abject submission, not only to court injunctions but to compulsory arbitration.

One of the band of legal parasites that feed off union treasuries — John Osler — was brought in to lead off the discussion on injunctions. Far from presenting a strategy as to how to eliminate injunctions, he urged that labor shouldn't even try to deny the courts the right to grant injunctions — what with the difficulties this would entail. Indeed, he said, labor shouldn't even expect a blanket prohibition of injunctions. He clearly upheld the right of the state — which is nothing but an executive committee of Big Business interests, to retain the power to prevent strikes by injunctions if the court is satisfied it is necessary — "in the public interest" of course.

As a substitute for a massive campaign of civil disobedience to

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# Legal Strikebreaking

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force the removal of unjust laws, Osler proposed a campaign to fight for legislation that would prohibit employers from hiring strikebreakers. This got the solid approval of Steelworkers Director William Mahoney but was too much to swallow for the lower level of union leaders in the panel that CLC public relations director Jack Williams reported for. It was not at all convinced that it would be easier to win legislation against the use of strikebreakers than against the use of injunctions. Williams stated on his own behalf that "we have to continue the fight against injunctions with every force we can command." CLC assistant research director John Fryer flatly rejected Osler's contention that injunctions are necessary in some circumstances. UAW Director George Burt reaffirmed previous statements in support of the "Oshawa Way" which won "a respectable contract" and, where Stan Little, national director of the Canadian Union of Public Employees pointed out, "almost every law you could think of was broken, but the government waited until Peterboro (where labor is weaker and disastrously tried to carry a strictly legal fight) to take us on."

For the next day's session, only a fortnight after the Pearson govern-

ment fastened the yoke of compulsory arbitration on the necks of the railroad workers, the brass brought in CLC Research Director Eugene Forsey and NDP Deputy Leader David Lewis to speak on compulsory arbitration. Lewis' speech was cribbed whole from the resolutions book of the most vicious union-busting forces in the country, and was backed up to the hilt by Forsey.

Lewis wrote off the right to strike of some of the most deprived sectors of the work force. No labor movement which he would deign to designate as "responsible", he said, could demand that police, firemen and hospital workers should have the right to strike. As Forsey put it, even a government headed jointly by CLC President Jodoin and David Lewis could permit continuance of a railway strike.

Lewis' shocking advocacy for adjustment to and even abject submission to the anti-labor drive caused CUPE President Little to decry that public employees do not even have the labor movement behind them and are being told by labor figures that the right to strike is hypothetical. Educational director Harold Thayer of the International Association of Machinists protested that "our membership just isn't going to buy compulsory arbitration."

## IWA Leader Clarke Defies Boss Court

"I knew what I was doing . . . if there was a picket line around this court house tomorrow and you granted an injunction against it I would go down there and picket," declared Tom Clarke, vice president of International Woodworkers Local 1-217. Clarke made his defiant statement to the court as Vancouver Justice MacDonald prepared to pass sentence on him and 18 other Vancouver unionists for their participation in last May's demonstrations protesting injunctions granted Lenkurt Electric against their striking employees.

Clarke addressed the court separately because, he said, he wished to dissociate himself from statements of the defence lawyers. They had pleaded that the unionists charged with defiance of the injunctions had not intended the demonstration as a battle with the courts, that it was evident that some of the leaders were "not really in favour of the demonstration," and that the men had got "carried away" and had not intended to wilfully disobey the court order, etc.

"I did what I did," declared Clarke, "on my own, with full knowledge of the possible court results."

Clarke commenced his defiant statement with a few words as to how he had joined the IWA after his return from overseas service in 1945.

"From that day on I participated actively in the function of that union. I felt then as I feel now that the only way that I could maintain my dignity and better my lot in life was through joint co-operation with my fellow workers in the plant where I was employed."

Clarke said that since then he has worked diligently to achieve this cooperation in the trade union movement.

"I am not a criminal living by nefarious means, but a citizen with full respect for the law and my country, but I will not be intimidated by courts or court action or people of your ilk when in my opinion I am morally right," he told the judge. "Nor will I stand idly by and watch my fellow workers and fellow-trade unionists be treated in a like manner."

"It has always been a basic premise of the trade union movement that an injury to one is an injury to all, and when one is injured it behooves all to come to their assistance."

"This I will do."

"As you are well aware," he told the judge, "some of the rights that society as a whole enjoys today were won by the blood of working men and women. The employer has always used all at his disposal to retard the growth of trade unions and free thought, resorting to murder, so-called legal execution, troops, police, spies, stool pigeons, scabs, and what have you—all to no avail."

"In this day and age, the employer has become a little more sophisticated and does not generally resort to the tactics of old, but he still retains this inclination. He now uses the courts to do what he cannot accomplish himself."

"I wish to make my position quite clear," said Clarke. "I do not wish you, Your Lordship, to be under any illusions as to my actions. If a picket line appeared around this building tomorrow and you were to grant an injunction prohibiting picketing, I would join that picket line if requested to do so."

"In closing I will say that I refuse to apologize to you, this court, or anyone else for my actions. What I did was what I thought was right."



# TORONTO ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT SPLIT

By P. KENT

**Toronto** — As Washington ruthlessly continued to mount its murderous assault on the people of north Vietnam, and Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson reaffirmed his government's approval of Johnson's policy at the well-publicized "meeting of minds" at Campobello, the opposition in Canada to these crimes suffered a serious setback.

The Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (TCCEWV) was split wide open when some of its most viable forces were arrogantly excluded.

A few weeks earlier, the unity of the Vancouver movement against the war in Vietnam was broken when the largely campus-based Vietnam Day Committee was muscled out of the preparations for the August 6-9 actions.

These and similar developments elsewhere suggest a calculated effort to split this promising movement right across the country.

The Toronto Coordinating Committee was launched last February as a non-exclusionist body around the March on Ottawa, held last March 26 against Canadian complicity in Washington's war. However, at its August 29 meeting, a motion was jammed through excluding the University of Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Students (highschool) Against the War in Vietnam (SAWV) and the representatives of the Toronto International Vietnam Day Committee and the Committee of Concerned

New Democrats, both of whom played a big role in launching the Coordinating Committee and the actions taken since.

The motion was motivated by a statement presented in the name of the liberal-pacifist Toronto Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, the Toronto Peace Center and the Toronto group of Canadian Action for Peace. It was backed to the hilt, if not actually inspired, by the Communist party.

The statement called for the exclusion of those (1) who want to build a "single issue" movement, (2) who want to link the Canadian antiwar movement with the antiwar movement in the United States, (3) who see the Canadian movement as part of a worldwide antiwar movement.

As against these aims, the signers of the statement contrasted their desire to build a "multi-issue" peace movement in Canada.

In the ensuing argument, those marked out for exclusion from the committee were labeled "Trotskyists." The representatives of SAWV and the University of Toronto Committee, recognized by all as representing the most promising and dynamic forces, were called a "Greek chorus" of the "Trotskyists."

Along with the Trotsky-baiting went all kinds of slanders against those under attack, including the charge that they had in effect "imposed" the demand for withdrawal of U.S. troops on the committee. The truth is that all official state-

ments, including the large newspaper advertisement published in relation to the March 26 demonstration, listed withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam as a key demand.

The motion to dissolve the committee as it had been constituted and to reconstitute it, leaving out those holding the three specified aims, was passed by a very small majority after several delegates had walked out in disgust. Representatives of some important groups such as the vital York Committee were not present. Some of those present showed considerable uneasiness.

But the promoters of the splitting action blatantly admitted that the action was not democratic, that democracy was of no concern to them since they had the right to exclude anyone they wished. Underlying everything was the blackmail threat that if the motion did not carry, some of them would withdraw support from the committee. Attempts to reverse this wrecking action were frustrated by an announcement that the next meeting was to be held at a certain place while a select group was informed that it would actually be held elsewhere.

The Coordinating Committee was thus converted into more of a name than a reality. What the splitters think they have gained is not yet clear. Some of them have a strong desire to play down Vietnam as a peace issue, for opposition to the war there demands more than perfunctory actions of the kind open to a multi-issue peace movement.

For others the demand, "Withdrawal of U.S. Troops," which helps in mobilizing action because of its simplicity and clarity, is embarrassing. They feel that the slogan tends to alienate the wide spectrum of respectable currents that favor "negotiations." In addition, the slogan, "End Canadian Complicity," brands the Canadian Liberal government for supporting the crimes of Washington. It has been given only equivocal support by such forces as the Communist party, which has been vainly seeking allies in the Walter Gordon wing of the Liberal party for an anti-U.S. policy.

It is possible that the major forces in the newly constituted TCCEWV intend to content themselves with merely token opposition to the war in Vietnam in the future.

While the splitting action will temporarily confuse the picture, playing into the hands of sectarians and opponents of the antiwar movement for a while, it will certainly not stop those who have been excluded. They will continue to move forward in their efforts to mobilize powerful forces in this country to end the war in Vietnam.

Efforts to build neighborhood organizations, delayed because at one time it appeared that the TTC-EWV might stir itself to move in this direction, are now underway. Meetings have been called in three separate Toronto areas to launch neighborhood clubs. Two have held their first meeting and it is apparent that it is possible to attract new and

viable forces into the struggle.

The possibility of mobilizing support for a large benefit affair for the Fort Hood Three (three U.S. soldiers who have been sentenced to prison for refusing to fight in a war which they consider unjust) is being worked on.

SAWV has just held a successful conference to launch this term's work.

The University of Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam has moved out boldly to build a powerful movement on the key Toronto campus and to spark a United Student Protest on November 11-12 on campuses right across the country.

The response to its appeal for support on registration days shows that there is a new, wide and active interest in Vietnam.

The first consolidating action

sponsored by the University of Toronto Committee was a meeting on September 28 addressed by A. J. Muste, head of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and initiator of the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee. The meeting was a big success. Muste issued a statement in the name of the U.S. anti-war movement expressing warm solidarity with the coming protest action.

The call for a United Student Protest Action over November 11-12, days customarily set aside for commemorating the millions who died in the first two world wars, is winning Canada-wide support. The New Democratic party youth have already moved in to assure a big success on Alberta campuses. The Toronto committee has set up a communications committee to provide some coordination and to prepare buttons and posters.



## Shoppers Protest Gouging, Douglas Bares Gov't Fraud



By P. KENT

It is false to blame inflation—the rising cost of living—on labor's demands for higher wages. Particularly is it false, NDP leader T.C. Douglas, has been saying to various trade union and NDP conventions, when it comes to the price hoists in foodstuffs which have roused housewives right across the country to militant protest.

The NDP leader blames profiteering. While wages and salaries are running 1.5 points behind increases in productivity, profits have been breaking all previous records for the past three years and are 12 points higher than productivity. Since 1961 corporation after-tax profits have increased by 67% and food processing companies' profits have risen by 43%.

So widespread are the protests and demonstrations against the con-

stantly accelerating hoists in food prices that the Pearson government, along with its loyal Tory, Socred, opposition, has jumped on—in order to head them off, to direct them away from its Big Business patrons.

Mr. Pearson himself has written a personal letter to a protesting Toronto housewife. He urges Mrs. Shopper who has been trying desperately to stretch her shopping dollar, that "We must all show a willingness to save, instead of spending, to search for substitutes and to buy at the lowest possible prices." This pious advice has been followed up by the government's sponsored Consumers Association of Canada, who, along with the sob-sisters of the Big Business press are now belting out this chorus. They are condescending to instruct frustrated shoppers as to how to curb their frivolous tastes and so cut their shopping costs in half—by switching from whole to skim milk, and from

tax-subsidized butter to margarine, which, incidentally, millions did long ago.

Of course the government's policy hasn't been one of merely handing out free advice. It has even taken some concrete steps of its own. Under the allegation that it would ease inflationary pressures the Liberals have once again postponed medicare. Thus the rapidly increasing cost of medical care continues to harass Mrs. Shopper, certainly stopping her from frivolous expenditures. To the NDP demand that the government set up a Prices Review Board, Mr. Pearson has responded with the Senate-House of Commons Committee in Consumer Credit.

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# Open Their Books to the People

The skyrocketing price of food stuffs, they have risen twice as fast as other prices since the start of 1965, has brought housewives across the country onto protest picket lines. Some have gone into the big marketplaces removing layer after layer of price tags, dramatically exposing what has been happening to the food dollar.

The spokesmen for the giant food merchandizing corporations, appearing before the government's Consumer Credit Committee are trying to pass the blame onto the farmers, onto the "high" wages which housewives are desperately trying to stretch, onto the high cost of packaging which they have had specially designed to trick and deceive the shopper, and on the high rents which many of them turn over to the real estate divisions of the business complexes they are an integral part of.

But there was one matter which they all expressed supreme confidence had nothing whatever to do with the soaring prices—profits. While admittedly, as S.R. Stovel president of Cyanamide of Canada told the Commons drug prices enquiry, "we're in business to make a profit", the Loblaw brief put it this way: "Finally, there is the element of profit, without which business enterprise and economic progress would disappear from the face of the earth."

If the hearings of the Senate-Commons Committee on Consumers Credit, droning on often with a bare quorum, revealed nothing more, they scotched the claim that the farmer is behind the price

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## End Conspiracy, Open Their Books!

(Continued from page 1)

gouge. Assistant Deputy Minister of Agriculture S.B. Williams showed that while food prices paid out by the consumer from 1949 to 1965 rose 35.9%, prices paid to the farmer for his produce rose only 6.6%. During this period the price of goods necessary for his operation rose 57.7%. In 1949 the farmers share of every dollar of retail sales was 58 cents—but by 1964 it had shrunk to 41 cents.

## T. C. Douglas Bares

(Continued from page 1)

"The truth is," as T.C. Douglas has pointed out, "the committee has no power to examine the books of the various companies, nor have busy M.P.'s the time to conduct the kind of investigation that needs to be carried on continuously."

"In fact," declared Douglas in the October 26 *Commonwealth*, "the Consumer Credit Committee is being used as a smokescreen..." And as an example, Douglas points to the handling of the NDP demand that the auto barons' proposed increase in the price of 1967 models be debated in the house. The government refused to do so on the grounds that prices are being investigated by the Consumer Credit Committee. When the committee met, top heavy with Liberal and Tory senators and M.P.'s, it rejected a proposal that representatives of the auto monopolists be called before it to justify their price hoists.

The committee has even pulled back from making the obvious examination of the operations of the food merchandizers when faced with their henchmen's agonized protests that this would reveal their business secrets. But that is exactly what needs to be laid bare—all the inner workings of their conspiracy against the consumers. What can be said for a committee which accepts as good coin, profit figures expressed in terms of dollar sales, that doesn't rip this bookkeeping trickery aside to reveal the true figure in terms of turn-over and capital investment.

Already, in some areas, prices

When a co-chairman of the committee suggested that the rumoured outright merger of George Weston interests with Loblaw's would result in "a huge colossus in the food business" the Loblaw official blandly responded that it would be no more a colossus than it already is—"just a different arrangement."

The committee members politely refrained from enquiring about the ramifications of the Weston food empire which has its tentacles into

producing, processing, packaging, wholesaling and other still-not-known areas of retailing. But it was revealed that the Loblaw level wholly owns 5 supermarket chains and controls three major distributors which in turn own or control another 10,000 outlets.

No one questioned the validity of the spokesmen for the giant retailers presenting their profits as a percentage of their dollar sales rather than as traditionally a percentage of their capital investment.

Loblaw's revealed that while their U.S. operations under the name of National Tea of Chicago made 1% on dollar sales, they quite arbitrarily set their Canadian profit margin at almost double that—1.88%.

National Tea "suffered" the smaller profit margin, according to the Loblaw spokesmen, due to a more competitive position. Since this, according to *The Wall Street Journal* of October 31, resulted in National Tea increasing its profits in the last three months over the same period the previous year by 33.2%, what were the real profits for Loblaw's Canadian empire and their rate of increase.

According to their spokesmen Loblaw profit as a percentage of sales has been steadily decreasing from 1.95% in 1961 to 1.88% in 1966. But their declared profits increased this year over last year from 9 million to 11½ million dollars.

Dominion Stores, as the largest single food chain, owning outright 380 outlets, testified that its 2.07%, up over 1962's 1.84, was dangerously thin. Yet its 1966 dividends were three times higher than 1956.

Quite inadvertently a tiny corner of the curtain hiding the conspiracy against the people has been lifted at the Senate-Commons enquiry—and allowed to fall back. It must be torn aside. "Open the Books! Show us your books! that is the cry that must be taken up by the prices protest movement.

By this means the widest layers of the public, the farmers, the white collar workers, all those on fixed incomes, will come to know that the real reason for the high prices is nothing more nor less than the exorbitant profits of the capitalists and the overhead of capitalist anarchy.

protest groups are thinking in terms of organizing consumers co-ops. In areas where this is practical these tendencies should be encouraged. The aid of the western co-ops, with their know-how and their capital, should be solicited and the co-ops should be developed as part of an overall movement in preparing the working people for the planning of the economy.

The NDP M.P.'s should refuse to be party to the diversionary purposes of the Consumers Credit Committee. They should demand that the big monopolists and cartels, which lay down the ground rules for the merchandizers, should appear on the stand. With the aid of trade union and party research experts they should rip through the maze of trickery and fraud with which they conspire against the people. They should appeal to the housewives organizations, the unions, and the coops, to send deputations to the committee, armed with facts and questions they wanted answered.

The NDP members, along with the unions, the co-ops and the NDP constituency associations, should aid in the strengthening of community protest groups and in the creation of popular consumers committees on prices which should be built now.

To the capitalists' protests about the costs of production, transport and distribution, these committees formed from community organizations, from the trade unions the farmers' organizations, the coops, should answer; Open Your Books! We demand control of the fixing of prices!



## REMINISCENT OF LEON TROTSKY'S VIEWS

# The Polish "Open Letter"

By ROSS DOWSON

Ten years ago the anti-bureaucratic struggle, the struggle to establish popular control over the planned economy, the struggle for socialist democracy in the Soviet areas, burst out into the open. It went out into the streets in a general strike of the industrial city of Poznan, resulting in the replacement of Premier Cyrankiewicz with Gomulka, and promises of new economic, cultural and political freedom in Poland. It exploded in the great Hungarian Revolution on October-November.

"Ninety percent of the people of Hungary supported the revolution," writes Canadian eye-witness John T. McLeod, in the November issue of *Saturday Night*. "Their aims were limited," but, he emphasizes, "at no time during the revolution was there any considerable demand for a return to western-style capitalism."

It was a revolution—a revolution "led by students, workers and army elements loyal to their own people..." The demands of the revolution were "friendship with Russia, but on a basis of equality, withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungarian soil, freedom of the press, free elections and the use of the country's uranium for Hungary itself."

McLeod describes how "peasants brought food supplies to the cities without hope of payment," how collection boxes on the street corners, filled with money for those who had suffered, "were unguarded but inviolate." He reports persistent declarations by participants that the "aims of the revolt could not be sullied by any material selfishness."

"Some of the most bloody battles against Russian troops" sent in by Khrushchev, "urged on by the bellicose Chinese," to crush the revolt "were fought by communist-led laborers in the working class districts of Ujpest and Csepel." Of course, notes McLeod, "among the rebels were innumerable passionate anti-communists, but many who fought gallantly against the Russians and the AVH (the Hungarian secret police) were dedicated Hungarian communists, students and intellectuals who had read Marx thoroughly and believed that a true Marxist state was meant to be free, democratic and humane, not based on terror."

"Marx called revolution 'a human



LEON TROTSKY

protest against inhuman life'. The Hungarian revolution," writes this political scientist who was there ten years ago, "was precisely that."

The Hungarian revolution was crushed. The Polish October saw elements of the bureaucracy adapt themselves and stem the tide of revolt with concessions and promises of more.

But these promises have not been fulfilled and the Gomulka regime is harassing the students, intellectuals and workers who seek its fulfilment.

It has now been reported that Professor Leszek Kolakowski, Poland's most eminent Marxist philosopher, has been expelled from the ruling Communist Party. Long known as a critic of the regime, he is reported to have participated in a tumultuous meeting of students in Warsaw which saw speaker after speaker protest the frustration of the hopes of 1956.

Kolakowski had earlier this year testified as a character witness at the trial of two youthful Polish revolutionists, Karol Modzelewski and Jacek Kuron, who were sentenced to three and three and a half years in prison for their political views. Also as a character witness appeared Leopold Enfeld, internationally renowned physicist who returned to

Poland following the Second World War after working on the staff of the University of Toronto for many years.

Modzelewski, the son of a now dead Communist leader who served as the first Minister of Foreign Affairs when the Peoples Republic of Poland was established, was one of the leaders of the youth at the University of Warsaw in October 1956. Kuron was likewise the son of an old Communist cadre.

The Modzelewski-Kuron trial took place shortly before the trial of the known Trotskyist Lwuk Hass, and Romuald Smiech and Kazimierz Badowski, the later two professors of history and of political economy at the universities of Warsaw and Cracow. All three were sentenced to three years in jail although Hass has since been freed for reasons of ill-health.

Between their earlier arrest and release and their final re-arrest and imprisonment, Modzelewski and Kuron wrote an "Open Letter" to those who had been called upon to ratify their expulsions from the party and the youth.

A copy of this document has now come into the hands of the French Trotskyist movement who have made it available in French.

As McLeod noted in his appreciation of the Hungarian revolution, the aims of its leading participants, while generally clear were limited and undeveloped.

The Hungarian revolutionaries had forged neither a political program nor a political leadership.

Modzelewski and Kuron in their "Open Letter" show their awareness of this in their criticism of the "October Left" of 1956 to which they belonged. This movement instinctively sought the establishment of workers democracy but they accuse it of failing at that time to formulate a clear program and of failing to differentiate themselves from the liberal currents in the bureaucracy.

In Modzelewski's and Kuron's "Open Letter" we have the first revolutionary Marxist document to appear in any workers state since the physical annihilation of the Left Opposition and the assassination of Leon Trotsky who carried forward the revolutionary tradition of Leninism and first formulated the program of the political revolution

against the Soviet bureaucracy.

They conceive their program as part of the revolutionary struggle for socialism on a world scale. The program as a whole is reminiscent in concept and often in its formulations of the program of political revolution outlined for the USSR by Trotsky in *Revolution Betrayed* and codified in the program of the Fourth International, *The Death Agonies of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*.

Their document is a rigorous analysis of Polish society in the process of which they develop a program that would enable the working class to lead Polish society out of the crisis in which it has been landed by the bureaucracy.

They call for the formation of Workers Councils and a Central Council of workers delegates, election and recall of delegates, plurality of parties (specified as political groups recognized by the working class) independence of the unions from the state, recognition of the right to strike, education of the workers in general economic problems, suppression of the political police, suppression of the standing army and arming of the working class.

The program also offers a section on foreign policy that denounces the nationalism of the bureaucracy and expresses unyielding confidence in the potentialities of genuine proletarian internationalism in assuring solidarity with respect to every working-class movement directed against imperialism or against a ruling bureaucracy.

The great October Revolution of 1917 laid down the property relations for a new social order of genuine freedom and equality. Confronted with colossal internal difficulties and isolated and harassed on the international arena it degenerated. Under Stalin and his apologists in the world Communist parties the very aim became compromised.

The Polish Spring and the Hungarian October in 1956 demonstrated that the spirit of the revolution not only lives on, but is a tremendous power. Modzelewski's and Kuron's "Open Letter" vindicates the titanic struggle waged by Leon Trotsky, chief architect with Lenin of October, and assures us of its imminent victory.



# Montreal HQ Raided, Left Demands Inquiry Into Police Harassment

by Jean Laplante

MONTREAL—Spokesmen of the two major Québec civil rights movements and the organizations of the Québec left are calling for a full scale public enquiry into the conduct of the Montréal, Québec, and federal police forces. This was the demand that came out of the public meeting held here on December 2 to protest police raids; in particular, one on the downtown headquarters of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, and another on the home of an organizer of the separatist Rassemblement pour l'indépendance Nationale in suburban Longueuil.

The meeting marked a favorable turn in the fight against the widespread police terror in Québec in that it united on a common platform the civil rights movement and representatives from the various organizations which up until now have individually borne the brunt of police harassment.

Among the speakers were: Jacques Guay of the Mouvement Populaire Québécois des Droits de l'Homme, Olivier Prat, secretary of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme; Jean-Marie Bedard, president of the Parti Socialiste du Québec; Mme Andre Bertrand-Ferrati of the Rassemblement pour l'indépendance Nationale; Sam Walsh of the Parti Communiste du Québec; Guy De-Grasse, president of the Comité d'Aide aux Patriotes Prisonniers; and Patricia Mitchell of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. Beatrice Bryant of the Committee on Québec appeared on the platform to express solidarity of this largely Ontario-based organization with the Québec struggle.



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Toronto—10 Cents

The Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière headquarters was raided by four plain clothesmen, early in the evening of November 11. They were armed with a search warrant taken out in the name of a sergeant-detective. The pretence for the raid—a joint operation by Montréal, Québec and federal police—was that the headquarters of the Ligue, where it holds regular public meetings and publishes its paper *La Lutte Ouvrière*, contained guns, explosive materials, dynamite, detonators and electrical devices. The police found none of these in the course of their hour's search, during which they held the occupants incommunicado. But they took away several cartons of correspondence, socialist literature, files and the entire list of subscribers to *La Lutte Ouvrière*.

The Ligue's president, Pat Mitchell, in a statement that evening, charged that "The raid follows a pattern of harassment established in August when two members of the Ligue were arrested and held incommunicado 14 hours for distributing leaflets publicizing a demonstration against American actions in Vietnam. This raid occurs as the Ligue prepares for participation in the Student Days of Protest of November 11-12. It is an obvious attempt to intimidate those who oppose both the presence of American troops in Vietnam and the role of the Canadian government in supporting American actions."

Simultaneous with the raid on the LSO, three plainclothesmen raided the home of Louis Denoncourt, a former candidate of the RIN, and that party's organizer for Richelieu. The police waited until Denoncourt had left his home and then raided it under the same pretext—a search for arms. After turning his home upside down, the police left with—RIN membership lists.

Gilles Gregoire (Ind. Lapointe) attempted to raise the matter of the raid on the RIN organizer's home in the House of Commons as an urgent matter since it "involved the violation of the most urgent elementary rights guaranteed by the constitution." He was stopped from (See page 3)

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# Probe Que. Police, Mtl. Rally Demand

(from page 1)

doing so by the speaker. The LSO case is even more scandalous since it is directed against the headquarters of a political organization, not an individual functionary, and thus constitutes a more blatant attempt on the part of authorities to cast an atmosphere of illegality over an organization.

As PSQ President Jean-Marie Bédard told the December 2 assembly: "Montréal police are making the law, instead of merely enforcing already existing laws. They invent new laws and regulations and are trying to control thoughts. The police in the city of Montréal are invading an area where they have no rights whatsoever—political ideas." And it is not merely the police but the judiciary itself.

Montréal Judge Emile Trottier, at the time that he placed a youthful member of the terrorist FLQ on probation, warned him that he must not participate in certain "socialist" movements. Following an outburst of protests, when the youth appeared before him again for sentence on December 5, the judge, without naming any organization or movement, said: "You know what I mean . . . Obviously I had no intention of forbidding you to belong to the U.C.C. or the Steelworkers' union, or any other such organization."

But, said Bea Bryant, referring to the rise of German fascism in her contribution to the assembly—that is just how reaction works. First they harassed the smallest and most isolated movements of the left—then it was the Communist party and Social Democracy that came under assault, until it encompassed the unions and then any and every organization that the fascists felt could be a pole of opposition to their totalitarian rule.

Jacques Guay attacked the press for its collaboration with the police—its publication of material damaging to the accused before the trial is even held. Olivier Prat scored illegal detentions—a very common practice of Montreal police—and

demanding that there be a full investigation into the issuing of false and open search warrants.

Jean-Marie Bédard declared that "even a barrage of protests is insufficient. The abuses are so serious that the government must hold a full-scale enquiry right now. It is becoming a crime to hold opinions. It is necessary to intensify the struggle against the Montréal, Québec and federal police."

La Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, headed by Therese Casgrain, had earlier sent a letter to Quebec Minister of Justice Jean-Jacques Bertrand and Mayor Drapeau protesting against (1) search warrants being issued on grounds that subsequently turn out to be completely false and which are executed (here they took particular note of the case of the LSO) in complete contempt of the law; (2) the increasingly frequent arrests without warrant of individuals in public places who have committed no acts of a criminal character, and (3) the detention of persons "for investigation" in a manner that amounts to sequestration under the terms of the Criminal Code. They conclude their letter with the demand for a full enquiry into the conduct and methods of the police force in Quebec.

The Mouvement Populaire Québécois des Droits de l'Homme in its

## LSO ORGANIZER



PAT MITCHELL

earlier statement demanded that the minister of justice end immediately so-called 'preventive searches' of the homes of honest citizens, often carried out in the night, under the pretext that since these persons are involved in politics they are hiding arms of every sort. It urged everyone concerned with civil rights to energetically protest the setting up of a police regime that appears to be well underway in Quebec. The organization announced that it is in the process of preparing a dossier which in the future, if necessary, it will send to the United Nations commission on the rights of man, and asked all victims of such searchings to forward it a detailed account of their experiences.